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The Institutional Church and the Individual



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Readers' Forum

Passionate Researchers or Fussy Moralists?

The article "The Curse of Cain and other Stories: Blacks in Mormon Folklore" was interesting and enlightening. The research appears to have been solid. The topic certainly is timely.

But something keeps bothering me about the article. Wilson and Poulsen seem to me to be of two minds. On the one hand they seem to be dispassionate researchers, observing and noting the human condition as manifest in anecdotes, legends, and folktales. On the other they appear to be fussy moralists.

I can close my eyes and visualize them standing in front of their classes saying, "Anybody know any good jokes about the negro and the priesthood?" Then I can visualize them getting together over a 7-Up somewhere, shaking their heads and saying, "People willing to accept blacks into full fellowship simply would not tell this kind of joke."

On the one hand they say that telling jokes, anecdotes, and stories helps people articulate, and, hence, adjust to new social conditions. But the authors then berate the people for doing so.

Ethnic humor can be cruel, demeaning, and, as Earl Butz found out, socially and personally costly. Ronald Reagan got into some hot water during the New Hampshire primary with an ethnic joke. I have no quarrel with someone who deplores ethnic slurs.

I guess my problem is that I don't think that the authors make it clear whether they are researchers presenting the results of their observations or are a pair of post-pubescent Holden Caulfields expressing frustration because they can't erase all the obscene graffiti in New York City.

Mary Jane Heatherington
Lawrence, Kansas

Reply to Ms. Heatherington

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter to *SUNSTONE*. What I'll say in response to your letter is, of course, my view only—I cannot speak for Poulsen.

First of all, you are wrong about the way we collected the material. We did not stand before our classes, cheerily ask them, "Do you know any good jokes about the blacks and the priesthood?" and then berate them later for giving us what we asked for. Because we had heard so many of the jokes ourselves in natural contexts (without soliciting them at all), what we did was stand before our classes, tell our students that we were interested in the general reaction to the priesthood revelation, and then ask them to record and share with us what they had heard in their own social worlds. They knew why we wanted the material and what we intended to do with it. Unfortunately, I know of no way of collecting unpleasant material—like this racist humor—except by asking for it.

You are correct when you say we tend to be both researchers and moralists. When we began the work, I had intended to remain as dispassionate about the project as you would have us be. But I eventually came to believe that in some instances, in matters of most importance, one has to do more than simply observe and report certain features of the human condition—he must also take a stand. Especially did this seem true in this case since we were writing mostly to an audience of fellow-Mormons and for *SUNSTONE*, which is interested not just in dispassionate articles, but also in essays aimed at making Mormons think about their own behavior.

I am a committed folklorist, but I am also a committed Mormon. In my past studies of Mormon folklore, I have tried to keep my own feelings out of my analyses. But this time I could no longer do that. This time I had to say: "This is wrong! If we really believe that all of us are literally brothers and sisters, descended from the same heavenly parents, then we must no longer demean our brothers and sisters by behaving in this way!" To have looked at the evidence before me and to have responded in any other way would to me have been unthinkable.

I am aware that mixing scholarship and personal feelings can turn one into a propagandist rather than a scholar; in fact I have written a book on that very subject (*Folklore and Nationalism in Modern Finland*). But I reiterate: In this instance I could no longer simply gather my data and then objectively report: "This is the way some Mormons responded to the priesthood revelation." I couldn't because the Kingdom matters too much to me, because obeying the Savior's injunction to love all men matters too much to me, because doing what I can to bring about a world in which that love prevails matters more to me, finally, than my reputation as a scholar.

Shortly after our article appeared, Poulsen and I became aware of a joke that had evidently gained some currency: "How do you keep the little black kid quiet in primary? You pin his lips to the wall." At the same time I listened to a priesthood leader in my ward announce that the music in an upcoming social would be very good, "not nigger music." I believe—at least I hope—that such attitudes are not widespread among us. But so long as they exist in *any* degree, we cannot lay claim to being a Zion people. If using what I know through folklore study to help eradicate these attitudes completely makes me a "fussy moralist," I guess I'll have to claim the title.

William A. Wilson
Utah State University

Seduced, Provoked, and In Love

SUNSTONE has stirred, provoked, seduced, aroused, inflamed, excited, angered, and even embarrassed me. In short, I LOVE IT! Almost every issue induces mental "letters to the editor," but with my eight children presently ranging in age from four months to eleven years I'll have to make do with this one generalized letter for the time being. It's a bright day when the mailbox contains my *SUNSTONE*, and with the new S. "Review" life will be twice as bright! Tracy (the man of the house) loves it too.

Betsy Hall
Orem, Utah

("Elizabeth H.", my formal signature, just didn't seem to fit the intimate way I feel about *SUNSTONE*.)

Beer for Man

The May-June 1979 issue of *SUNSTONE* featured a discourse by Elder Stephen L. Richards preceded by three paragraphs on "Word of Wisdom Findings" which have caused us to reflect upon the

popularly held current interpretation of the Word of Wisdom.

Elder Richards stated: "First, I hold that it is entirely compatible with the genius of the Church to change its procedure and interpretations as changes in thought, education, and environment of people from time to time seem to warrant, provided, of course, that no violence is done to the elevated concepts of truth which lie at the basis of our work. . . . Old conceptions and traditional interpretations must be influenced by newly discovered evidence. Not that ultimate fact and law change, but our understanding varies with our education and experience."

The "Word of Wisdom Findings" cited two recent studies at the Universities of Pittsburgh and Minnesota which indicated that moderate drinking (of alcoholic beverages) tends to be beneficial to the heart, reducing blood pressure, cholesterol accumulation, etc. Harvard University and the University of Hawaii have reached similar conclusions in favor of moderate drinking, reporting that limited amounts of alcohol consumption contribute to longevity.

We turn to Section 89 of the D&C and see that while we are counseled against the (internal) use of strong drinks and hot drinks, we are also encouraged to use mild drinks made of barley. To our friends uninitiated to the present dogma of Mormonism, this is clearly an endorsement of beer, which is defined as a mild drink made of barley. Our perplexing protestations to them that the Lord was advocating the use of Postum (a hot drink containing no barley) strike these friends as an affront to the English language. (The barley-Postum connection is common Sunday School folklore. Note that the D&C says nothing about caffeine, but decries the use of hot drinks. In light of medical evidence reported by the *Washington Star* early in 1971 that the heat content of tea and coffee is far more damaging than the caffeine, our friends' objections may be on target.) Moreover, either Joseph Smith, Jr. and other leaders of the Church were disobedient or interpreted differently the meaning of the clause on barley beverages and strong drinks, for they continued to drink beer long after the word of Wisdom was given. (E.g., under date of June 1, 1844, in Joseph Smith's history he stated: "They went to John P. Greene's, and paid him and another brother \$200. Drank a glass of beer at Moessers. Called at William Clayton's . . ." The seven words

referring to the beer drinking incident have been deleted from the modern version of the History of the Church.)

The vacillations in findings of medical experimentation are well-known, and we are not prepared to state that the final word on the healthfulness of moderate alcohol consumption is in, but perhaps there is now sufficient favorable evidence to merit a second look at the basis for our present interpretation of the Word of Wisdom. We note that the only beverages specifically endorsed by the Lord in the document are mild drinks made of barley. There is evidence (Paul Peterson, "An Historical Analysis of the Word of Wisdom," BYU History Department, MA Thesis, 1972) that the early Saints associated "strong" drinks with distilled spirits, and "mild" drinks with fermented drinks. Over time, particularly with the advent of the Prohibition Era, the word "alcoholic" began to be substituted for the word "strong" in discourses about the Word of Wisdom. Unless there has been some divine clarification regarding the kind of mild beverages made of barley that the Lord has endorsed, we suggest that a careful reevaluation be undertaken with respect to our church position on the Word of Wisdom.

Lest our interest in this matter be dismissed with knee-jerk ad hominem innuendos, we affirm that neither of the authors of this communication has partaken of alcoholic beverages (although we have, on occasion, imbibed limited quantities of postum . . . lukewarm, of course!)

David F. Babbel, Ph.D.
Berkeley, California

Daniel W. Marcum, LL.M.
Salt Lake City, Utah

Missionary Distressed

I was glad to see Martin Raish's critique (SUNSTONE 6:1) of some of the more amateurish works on Book of Mormon archaeology. It is high time that someone stepped up and pointed out the erroneous nature of some of the more popular books supposedly dealing with evidences for the Book of Mormon. It is books such as Cheesman's that have virtually crippled Book of Mormon studies in the past. While such amateurs as Cheesman, West, and Priddis are hailed as the Church's "Book of Mormon scholars," the real pros, such as Jakeman, Sorenson, Norman, and many others, are virtually unheard of by the average Latter-day Saint. This is tragic.

As a missionary for the Church I have

been especially distressed over the fact that so many of our Elders out in the field are using such things as Jack West's slides to "prove" the Book of Mormon. When they meet up with someone who knows something about New World archaeology, they quickly find out just how poorly done the Jack West slides are. The works of Cheesman and Farnsworth and Priddis are equally worthless when you're dealing with someone who is familiar with New World archaeology. I hope Raish's article will cause at least some of our missionaries to stop using the works he analyzed. I also hope that once they have done this, that they will then begin to use some of the real scholarly works on Book of Mormon archaeology that have been done by such men as Jakeman, Sorenson, and Norman. The work of these men is sound and reliable, and our missionaries would do well to start using it.

Elder Michael T. Griffith
Texas Dallas Mission

Equal Rights on the Pioneer Trail

While reading 723 pioneer journals during my recent sabbatical in Utah to research a new book, I came across an interesting and revealing account left behind by one of our stronger minded grandmothers. It pertains to some early Mormon female thinking about equal rights.

In May of 1846 the 44-year-old Louisa Barnes Pratt was getting ready to quit Nauvoo and follow the first Pioneers west. She had been born in Massachusetts, become a member of the Episcopal Church, had taught school in Vermont and New Hampshire, and in 1831 had married Addison Pratt. They joined the Restoration in 1837 and eventually moved to Nauvoo where, in 1843, Addison was called on a mission to Tahiti.

As a lone female preparing to go west, Louisa wondered out loud "why those who had sent my husband to the end of the earth did not call to inquire whether I could prepare myself for such a perilous journey." She was informed, "Sister Pratt, they expect you to be smart enough to go yourself without help, and even to assist others." Whereupon this particularly strong-willed and self-reliant sister concluded to "show them what I can do."

Perhaps the best example of her character in this respect is revealed in her account of what happened on the evening of June 6, 1846, about 100 miles west along the road from civilization to

sundown, somewhere in the Mormon Mesopotamia of wild Iowa.

"Last evening the ladies met to organize. Mrs. Isaac Chase was called to the chair. She was also appointed President by unanimous vote. Mrs. L[ouisa] B. Pratt, counsellor and scribe. Several resolutions were adopted: 1st Resolved: that when the brethren call on us to attend prayers, get engaged in conversation and forget what they called us for, that the sisters retire to some convenient place, pray by themselves and go about their business. 2nd. If the men wish to hold control over women, let them be on the alert. We believe in equal rights. Meeting adjourned, *sine die*." Louisa eventually reached the Valley safely, joined her husband on his second mission to Tahiti, and died in 1880.

Stanley B. Kimball
Southern Illinois University
at Edwardsville

The Rock

James B. Allen's and John Harris' delightful article on LTM graffiti brought a flood of memories from my own stay in the "Rock." As a returned "Frenchie," however, I feel constrained to note that most of those masterworks were penned by Elders in the Spanish ranks—and they always were the rowdiest!

David John Buerger
Campbell, California

Hidden World

I thoroughly enjoyed the article on the LTM. I remember discovering or at least being informed of the hidden world on the other side of the ceiling. And our good friends, members of the same district, came into our room not only to check out our ceiling but to display with pride their contribution, Mr. Begay and etc., which made your front cover.

Val Larsen
Hobbs, N.M.

Events Clarified

You did a perceptive, insightful story on the January 17, 1844, Blessing of Joseph Smith III by his father, Joseph Smith, Jr. I write to clarify a few items which perhaps you got from your *Utah Holiday* source, and which represent a distortion of how the RLDS Church came to own this document.

1. Hoffman phoned my office on 24 February asking to trade the blessing for a Book of Commandments. On 2 March (not twenty-four hours later) I met him in the LDS Archives in Salt

Lake City to explore possibilities of acquiring it for the RLDS Archives. I did NOT take a Book of Commandments (value: \$10,000, not \$20-25,000!) with me at that time. Rather I went there mostly to try to determine whether the blessing was authentic. I did not anticipate that such determination could be made in one day. I returned to Independence that same day (2 March) to engage handwriting experts not related in any way to either of the two churches.

2. I called Hofmann on 3 March, and we agreed that he would come to Independence on 17 March for submission of the document to handwriting analysis. This meant, to me, that his previously written commitment (his 24 February letter) to bind himself to RLDS options until 8 March was now to be extended to at least 17 March.

3. Meanwhile, LDS church interest was growing, to the extent that on Friday, 6 March, without notifying me, Hofmann sold the document to LDS officials, also without telling them of his binding commitment to me. I learned of this transaction that same day.

4. On 9 March I mailed a letter to Hofmann, objecting to his *modus operandi*, sending a copy to Donald Schmidt of the LDS Archives. Chagrined at learning the LDS Church had acquired the blessing under those conditions, Schmidt and Olson on 13 March began the process of trying to transfer ownership of the blessing to the RLDS Church. This culminated in my return to Salt Lake City on 18 March, this time with a Book of Commandments, plus the text of a previously agreed upon conditional agreement. One stipulation of that agreement was that RLDS officials would have ninety days in which to authenticate the document, with sole power to abrogate the agreement if such authentication could not be achieved. The agreement was signed and the exchange made on 19 March.

I note your eloquent plea for a more responsible and enlightened reaction to these events by the church. And while you point your concern to the LDS Mormon Church specifically, I wish to go on record with a concern of my own regarding the proper response of the RLDS Church. Already I have noted some unfortunate local responses in which members have shown a tendency to use the newly discovered document in

ways calculated to embarrass or "put down" the LDS Church and/or its members. This grieves me, and I want you to know that I shall do all I can, both in writing and in public ministry in the RLDS Church, to steer its members away from such pointless petulance.

Richard P. Howard
Church Historian
Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ
of Latter Day Saints
Independence, Missouri

Bet on the Right Horse

I wish to make some observations on the conclusions of the essay "Mormons Against Hitler" in Nov./Dec. issue of *Sunstone*.

It is true that Huebener's situation was rather hopeless . . . but did he actually hope that by his actions alone the Nazi regime would collapse? Of course not. I assume he hoped that his efforts would make a contribution to a larger undermining activity in Germany and abroad, which, combined with the Allied efforts, would lead to a rapid destruction of Nazism. Huebener's case should not be presented as an isolated case, but must be seen in a much larger context of anti-fascist underground activities, which have been an important help for the Allied powers, and in some cases decisive (Yugoslavia!).

In some circumstances it is advisable to follow a policy of "close-mouthed neutrality," say the authors of the essay. First of all I cannot see how anybody can—even from a strictly tactical viewpoint—be neutral in this world. In our first pre-existent estate we could not be neutral either. What seems to be "close-mouthed neutrality" may very well turn out to be disguised ideology, shot through with explicit and implicit value judgements, and controversial normative claims. The attitude of Otto Berndt wasn't neutral, although it seemed so, but was based on an explicit value appraisal of the Nazi regime, and what he did was right, considering the circumstances he was in.

What about a threatened survival of individuals or the Church itself? In the case of Nazi Germany it seemed probable that Nazism in the long run would replace all churches, once German world hegemony be established. Does this future state of affairs not justify any action which aims at the undermining of such a system? It certainly is an honor to give one's life in such a struggle for freedom "we hold so dear." Of course one must be careful not to let fellow members run unnecessary risks, but this doesn't mean we must

leave it up to others to do the dangerous work and join in only when victory is secure.

Another reason to support actively pro-freedom resistance activities is that with a plural participation they are not left up to an extreme minority, which in future may well become a next tyrant, deciding all by itself what the new society will be like. Participation in liberation movements will have a balancing effect on the outcome. This argument holds for present situations in countries where human rights are not respected. In January 1977 Argentinian parents of dismissed and tortured political prisoners directed a letter to the Roman Catholic bishops in this country, asking why only Marxists seem to be determined to offer their lives for freedom and popular well-being, while Christians seem to be more preoccupied with heaven. I believe the risk of being persecuted as a church by an existing oppressive regime doesn't outweigh the future possibility of being outlawed by a newcoming anti-clerical regime of orthodox Marxists. Let me illustrate this with an example: Cuba shouldn't have become anti-clerical if churches would not have taken such an anti-revolutionary stand, including the Mormon Church who had one of its apostles in U.S. government! If, on the contrary, a more realistic attitude had been taken by Christians, including their participation in Castro's movement, quite another result might have come out. There was a chance missed and now the only thing left for us is to lament with all those who were blinded by commercial interests (greed) or thought it was better to follow a "close-mouthed neutrality."

A Dutch proverb says: "One must bet on the right horse," which means that one must analyze the processes of society and face its challenges and answer the question: which direction is society going to take and how can I influence circumstances to the better? Christians must actively "bet on the right horse," and have their influence and commitment to righteousness be felt with those who took the lead in a process of liberation, whether they are communists or not.

Of course we must "seek for and uphold honest and wise men," but this counsel sounds a little out of context in those countries where there is no way anymore to let one's vote be heard like we can in our western democracies. In Bolivia, for instance, there have been several elections held in the last two

years, but dishonest and corrupt men supported by our western democratic leaders with the misleading argument that these regimes are at least anti-communist, have systematically repressed these trials to establish at least an apparently democratic procedure with much bloodshed, under the pretext that "communists were ready to take over to eliminate democracy." Here applies what the late bishop Romero of El Salvador said: "The violence of an insurrection is not worse than the violence of repression." These truthful words were sealed with his own blood. Now the bloodshed continues, both in Bolivia as in this latter small Central American country. Thousands are killed by the regular armed forces "in order to suppress communism." A paranoid U.S. president, a "good, honest, and wise man," chosen by 70 percent of the Utahn Mormons, supports a government which deliberately commits genocide on its own people. "But what matters human life, especially when it isn't American human life, if we can make a strong fist again towards the Soviets, showing them that we are seriously meaning what we say." Thousands of landless peasants are sacrificed on the altar of anti-communism; peasants who only want social justice, education, and alimentation; peasants who don't even know who Marx is are for convenience's sake stigmatized as "communists" and thus free as a bird . . . to be killed.

People who are misled by such "open-mouthed" demagogy of their elected president symbolize the tragedy of mankind. They do not see that their freedom is only one side of the medal, whose reverse is tyranny and

bloodshed. Where stops our responsibility in the crimes our democratically chosen leaders commit abroad? Are we convinced that our hands are clean? If it's the president's responsibility only, then we admit that there is no real difference between our democratic systems and the Soviet Union, for instance, whose inhabitants cannot be held responsible for the actions of their leaders they did not choose.

This shows how the wicked may rule, while we think we are following Huebener's lead and commitment to freedom. The way we as citizens perceive things is much more decisive than the way things really are. Our democratically chosen leaders abuse our naive belief that our perception and reality overlap.

What about "close-mouthed neutrality" in El Salvador now, and in Guatemala tomorrow, or Haiti, or Argentina, Chile, or the Philippines, etc, etc. Are 45 years of "close-mouthedly" tolerated Somoza dictatorship preferable to two years of struggle for more freedom? The people themselves will decide when the moment has come to stand up, and we as academicians or religious leaders can't pretend to provide prescriptive rules, since we live "out of context." What we *may* try is to go and stand in the shoes of those mothers and fathers, whose children are dismissed and are told to "wait a few years."

Our acts may very well become tenable, hopeful and life-giving when they are performed in a self-conscious network of purposeful strategy.

Eric van Empel
Eindhoven, The Netherlands

One Fold

We at SUNSTONE would like to welcome our new editor of the One Fold section—the Reverend Anne Thieme—and introduce her to our readers. She and her husband Richard are co-rectors of St. James Episcopal Church in Salt Lake City. She received a BA and MA in English literature from Northwestern University in Chicago and a Masters of Theological Science from Seabury-Western Theological Seminary. She has published

reviews in New Review of Books and Religion and Anglican Theological Review.

Alcoholism—No Respector of Churches

Alcoholism is now considered by leading health and medical authorities to be the third gravest health problem in America. It affects 10-30 percent of alcohol users directly, and at least four times that

number indirectly through the consequent disruption of personal relationships. Only heart disease and cancer outrank it in their power to devastate the lives of the American people.

As a disease, alcoholism is no respecter of church doctrine and moral codes. Statistics gathered by local governments across the country indicate that no matter what stance predominant religious or cultural majorities might take towards drinking, the per capita indicators as to levels of substance abuse do not vary. It is likely that at least seven percent of every church congregation in the country, be it Roman Catholic, Methodist, or Mormon, are victims of alcoholism.

One explanation for this, according to Ken Odell, director of the Salt Lake County Alcohol and Drug Services,* is that the highest risk segments of the drinking population as a whole are those individuals whose families of origin were alcoholic or were teetotalers. Thus religious or cultural prohibitions against drinking in one sense aggravate natural susceptibilities within theoretically abstinent populations. In this context, it is encouraging to discover that many church groups are responding to this problem.

In the past, alcoholism has not been understood as a disease but rather as a characterological disorder to be treated by moral exhortation and appeals to common sense. Even when diagnosed as the primary problem, such diagnoses were rarely followed by any prescribed mode of treatment at all. And in most cases, because of the moral stigma attached, alcoholism was simply the hidden factor which disrupted otherwise routine treatments for a variety of physical and emotional problems.

During the last twenty years, the growing consensus has been that alcoholism itself is a primary disease, with particular symptoms and clearly identifiable phases. As a result, physicians and therapists are now well aware that until an alcoholic's alcoholism itself is being treated effectively, secondary problems such as a diseased liver or emotional stress cannot be dealt with successfully.

Secondly, it is now broadly recognized that denial and impaired judgment are characteristics of the illness itself. Consequently, the traditional view that one ought to wait until alcoholics "come to their senses" or "bottom out" may well result in their death.

Thirdly, because alcoholism is a chronic, progressive disease, it is 100 percent fatal if it remains untreated. But it is, in fact, treatable. The nationally renowned Johnson Institute in Minnesota claims a 67-79 percent recovery rate (maintenance of sobriety) for those patients graduating from their pioneer program in the treatment of alcoholics and their families.

An institutional church, committed to an active ministry of love and service and the well being of its membership, stands in a unique position vis a vis alcoholism. It has a core of ministers drawn into many contacts with a broad range of people; their role within the community gives them the prerogative to reach out directly to those in need. Unlike other members of the "helping professions," a church's minister—whether lay person or ordained, formally or informally trained—is bound by no ethical injunction to await the victim's own cry for help. He or she is free to act responsibly on his/her own initiative.

On an institutional level, many church-affiliated hospitals across the country run alcoholic treatment programs on both inpatient and outpatient bases. Typically these programs follow the model set by the Johnson Institute founded in Minneapolis by The Rev. Vernon Johnson, a recovering alcoholic. This facility combines initial detoxification, intensive group and individual therapy sessions, and an intensive education program on the nature and progression of the disease. The patient's spouse and children are key participants as well, supporting the patient's personal recovery and in addition understanding their own contributions to the impaired family system. They, in a sense, recover as well. Such patient programs normally require a six-week residency followed by a two-year, after-care program involving continued group therapy and support.

A successful ministry modeled on this program is Church Alcohol Projects (CAP), founded and sponsored by Christ Episcopal Church, Shaker Heights, Ohio. Clergy are educated in the techniques of intervention developed by the Johnson Institute. In addition, CAP sponsors an exceptionally complete Literature Center and runs Family Hope Classes for nonalcoholics, who in a sense also suffer from the illness. The function of Family Hope Classes is first to help nonalcoholics understand that they can get better whether the alcoholic chooses to or not and second, through encouraging

interventions, to break the conspiracy of silence within the home and thereby to lead the alcoholic into treatment.

Roman Catholic priest Fr. Vaughan Quinn, himself a recovering alcoholic, runs the Sacred Heart Rehabilitation Center for Alcoholics in Detroit, Michigan—a non-sectarian, self-supporting institution which treats 1500 alcoholics and drug addicts a year. In an effort to reinforce the idea that it is possible to have fun while sober, the Center owns and operates a fleet of five antique fire trucks. Typical of many such centers, the majority of Fr. Quinn's staff are themselves recovering alcoholics and drug addicts.

In Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the De Paul Rehabilitation Hospital hosts a program run by Dr. Roland Harrington which specializes in the treatment of "impaired" physicians. Many alcoholic or drug dependent physicians are referred to De Paul's program by the Wisconsin State Medical Society, which calculates that at least 15 percent of physicians are so impaired.

In addition to treatment programs, many churches also sponsor educational programs on the local, regional, and national level. For example, the Episcopal Church in America went on record at its General Convention in 1979 supporting such programs as well as the work of specialized agencies within the field. It also pledged to reexamine its personnel policies regarding alcoholism and assigned a staff officer to implement national programs. These include national mailings, guidance for regional programs, and the encouragement of further training for clergy to deal more effectively with the disease. The CAP program (described above) was singled out as an exemplary regional project.

In the Roman Catholic hierarchy, such programs are typically run on a regional basis. Thus, within the diocese of Salt Lake City, there have been a variety of parish education and support groups for families of alcoholics established and also retreats for victims themselves.

Within both the Roman Catholic and Episcopal Churches, there are national organizations for recovered alcoholic clergy. These groups help members maintain their own sobriety but also serve as springboards for extending the ministry to other sufferers.

Many American churches also lend informal support to the non-denominational National Council on Alcoholism, which provides a network of education, research, and

community services including the operation of alcoholism information centers, diagnostic and treatment clinics, and the procurement of hospital beds for the treatment of acute alcoholism in general hospitals. In addition, many churches use their facilities and newsletters to help local support and therapy groups and such national organizations as Alcoholics Anonymous, Al-Anon, and Ala-Teen.

Surely alcoholism should no longer be considered a matter of poor conduct or apostasy—it is a deadly disease touching the life of every church in this country. The means and the tools, the mandate and the opportunities to respond are all ready to hand.

*Ken Odell, Director of the Salt Lake County Alcohol and Drug Services, telephone interview with the Rev. Anne Thieme, May 29, 1981.

accepted," assured Arrington.

Mormon Disneyland?

Mormons in the Interior Department are wearing small lapel buttons sporting pictures of the Washington Temple, according to "The Ear" in the *Washington Star*, 23 February 1981. Calling it "a Groundswell of Nouveau Reverence," the column reported that "an Interior Evangelical Christian greeted an Interior Mormon's [sic] button: 'My, isn't that nice. When did you go to Disneyland?' " The column, in an apparent allusion to new found Mormon political power in the Reagan administration, concludes, "Come, darlings. Play nicely. It's a long four years."

LDS Help Refugees

While in Salt Lake City for April Conference, Marion D. Hanks of the First Quorum of the Seventy told the Salt Lake Rotary Club about Church efforts to help refugees in Southeast Asia. Mormon teachers and social workers are instructing thousands of refugees in large teaching sheds in a refugee transit camp in Panatnikom in Chonburi Province, 100 miles from Bangkok in Thailand. Others work at camps in Hong Kong.

The Church works at acculturating the refugees to Western lifestyles, while other groups handle medical needs. He noted that "the church made a strict commitment that there would be no proselyting of any kind in the camp" (*Deseret News*, 8/9 April).

Atheists Congregate in Utah

It looked like a family fight April 17-19, when the Annual American Atheist Convention convened in Salt Lake City. Choosing Salt Lake City for the convention, Madalyn Murray O'Hair, founder of the Society of Separationists, charged Utah was the most religiously repressive state in the union next to Arkansas. But most media attention centered on O'Hair's renegade son, William J. Murray, founder of the Faith Foundation, a born-again Christian organization. While the atheists were "de-baptizing" and auctioning off garments, this Murray was holding prayer vigils and responding to phone calls generated by a quarter page ad in the *Salt Lake Tribune*. Another Murray son, John Garth, called the convention a tremendous success: "We got a lot of recognition. We got the Mormons talking about us. We wanted to raise some awareness that there are atheists throughout the country, even in Utah."

The convention program sported a

Update

Genealogy Pileup

John Brockert, director of the Utah Bureau of Vital Statistics, (*Deseret News*, 14 April) says efforts by Mormons to complete their four-generation genealogy project by July 1 has resulted in an eight- to ten-week backlog. And additional time is taken by callers complaining that it is taking too long to get the records searched. As of April 1, the Bureau had 3,800 requests on hand.

Ban Leone's Book

Mormon Fred Moser recently asked the Dubuque, Iowa, city library to ban Mark P. Leone's *Roots of Modern Mormonism* (*Salt Lake Tribune*, 11 April). "I just don't think this is the type of thing that public money should buy to disseminate to local taxpayers," he argued. "I don't think my tax dollars should buy books filled with lies." The book is inaccurate, he says, and portrays Mormons as "disloyal to the United States."

Elizabeth Donnan, city Library Director, originally rejected the request but upon Moser's appeal appointed a five-member review panel, which includes one Mormon, Barry Porter, Iowa State Librarian. The panel will read the book as well as comments by the author, a University of Maryland anthropology professor, and the publisher, Harvard University Press. A public hearing is also scheduled, the first for this purpose in Dubuque in more than a decade.

Record Breaking Binge

"A giant in trying to uphold the standards of the LDS Church," according to a recent *Church News* article, is Radio Station KVIK at Ricks College in

Rexburg, Idaho. Assistant station manager Vince Gregg and station manager Loie Jones decided that many of the songs being played on the air were not appropriate for a Church-owned radio station. With approval of faculty adviser John Haerberli, several students went through the records. "It took us more than 50 hours to check each record for references to sex, drugs, profanity, and anything that could possibly influence even one of our students to break the moral code in any way," asserted Gregg.

From a record collection totaling 870, the group discarded or smashed 451, despite pleas from some students who wanted the rejects. "They were trash," said Jones, "and we decided to keep trash off our programs." However, Gregg conceded, "We're kind of low on music. But we'll make it, and we'll feel good about what we have done. That is worth a lot."

Sesquicentennial History Project

"Members of the Mormon History Association will want to be informed that the so-called Sesquicentennial History project, as announced in 1972, has been modified," announced Leonard J. Arrington in the February issue of the *Mormon History Association Newsletter*. The sixteen-volume history will not be published under LDS sponsorship. Each individual author will decide how his or her book will be published. Some volumes may be published by other presses prior to publication by the Deseret Book Company. "We continue to expect that all of the volumes will be published under the most appropriate auspices as soon as completed and

caricature of the Salt Lake Temple with Mickey Mouse on top blowing a horn. However, only two speeches during the three-day affair specifically discussed Mormonism—G.T. Harrison attacking what he called "Mormon Fables" and Opal Fisher, widow of Vardis Fisher, speaking on "The Saga of Mormon Deceit in Respect to Vardis Fisher." In her closing remarks O'Hair called Mormonism "the most dangerous religion in America."

Beehive Business

"Always intriguing and occasionally stunning," said the *Washington Post's* Hank Burchard about "The Grand Beehive Exhibition." Assembled by Hal Cannon, folk-art coordinator for the Utah Arts Council, the exhibit opened 24 April for an eight-month run at the Smithsonian's Renwick Gallery in Washington, D.C.

The show, exhibited at the Salt Lake Art Center last fall, explores beehive symbolism in Utah's folk, commercial, religious, and political art. "The hive, which once symbolized the defensive and secretive bastion of the Mormons against the world, now appears on the Great Seal of Utah as emblematic of the industriousness of the now-secular state," writes Burchard. But the symbol in Utah really represents the "land of milk and honey," says the April *Smithsonian*. It was "chosen to represent the industry and community spirit of the Mormon pioneers," says *Americana*. "The beehive is an unmistakable phallic symbol," says Sarah Booth Conroy in the *Washington Post*, "perhaps an effort to superimpose a male domination on the bee's matriarchal society," and adds "the Mormons managed to forget that the beehive is ruled by a queen bee."

Though Conroy dismisses the objects as "a tawdry lot," noting "they photograph better than they are," she gives high praise to Cannon and David Pendell's book, *The Grand Beehive* (a "brilliant essay") and says Brent Herridge's photography is "excellent."

National Press Notes Joseph's Blessing

"Prophets can be an inconvenience to their followers," noted the *New York Times* of 22 March, "especially if they commit their thoughts to paper." The subject of the discussion was the recently discovered blessing Joseph Smith gave to his son, Joseph Smith III. The Utah Mormons were pictured as "mildly discomfited" (*New York Times*) and "subdued" (*Salt Lake Tribune*, 20 March 1981). Front page articles appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*, *Salt Lake Tribune*,

Deseret News, and *New York Times*, as well as blurbs on the CBS Evening News and National Public Radio's "All Things Considered." Articles also appeared in *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *Utah Holiday*.

The Reorganized Church members were pictured as "Humble, Happy, Documented," by the *New York Times*. "Controlled elation" is how one RLDS described their reaction. "It's wonderful, but we knew it all along," said Eugene Austin, RLDS official. He added that he hoped it would enable the RLDS "to be seen in its own identity, not as an offshoot of Mormonism."

The Utah Mormons pointed out that Joseph Smith had mentioned several different methods of succession, including apostolic succession and lineal succession. They also suggested it was a father's blessing to his son, not instructions to the Church. "Among the rank and file Mormons," said Jan Shipps, past president of the Mormon Historical Association, "this will be like a pebble hitting water—cause a few ripples and drop quietly to the bottom."

Choir Sings for Abandoned Children

"We agree that resolving the problem of the abandoned children is critical to the future of the western hemisphere," commented Tabernacle Choir president Oakley S. Evans when announcing the Choir's benefit concert in Brazil on behalf of the new Research Center for the Study of the Problem of Abandoned Children.

The first Week of Music of the Americas, May 24-30, found the Choir in Sao Paulo, Brazil, singing in the 12,000-seat Ibirapuera Auditorium in a concert to be beamed via satellite to various countries.

The Research Center to be funded by the concerts will be established in Sao Paulo at the Mackenzie Institute and will be responsible for gathering reliable statistics on the problem of abandoned children, analyzing the causes, effects, and consequences, and establishing pilot projects to resolve the situation. Estimates of the number of abandoned children in all of Latin America range up to 80 million. "One of the serious problems in South America," concluded Mr. Evans, "is the abandonment of children by parents untrained in the skills needed for employment or survival in metropolitan areas." (*California Intermountain News*, 23 April 1981.)

Beatles Caused Troubles

Many of today's problems can be traced to the music of the Beatles in the early 1960s, according to David B. Haight of

the Council of the Twelve Apostles, who delivered the keynote address at the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Utah Association of Women held in Salt Lake City April 24 and 25.

That music, which portrayed sex, drugs, and rebellion in a favorable light, caused a decline in moral values, an increase in self-centered thinking, and a proliferation of troubles for the United States, he said. "I witnessed the early developing of protests on college campuses, protests against the Vietnam War, with protestors using Beatle-type music to express their feelings against our government, against our military, and against authority in general. This spread into college classrooms and opened an era of criticism of almost anything that was part of the past.

Urging Utah women to take a lead in raising pure and wholesome young people, Haight told them: "You have such a profound influence in ethics, civility, the culture of our people, and the refinement that has been slowly slipping from us." He praised the Association and expressed optimism for the future because there seems to be a new national pride and faith in eternal principles.

Well Placed Mormons

"Enormously conservative, enormously Republican, and increasingly well located in this new Republican era." That is the Mormon church, according to a fifteen-page feature in the *Washingtonian*. Such success springs naturally from Mormon beliefs, for Mormonism is "the American religion, a religion sprung from the soil of the New World," one that emphasizes patriotism and the belief that this country is a "choice land."

Mormonism succeeds because it combines "an unbending doctrine with the hope of material advancement, to proffer the hope that rewards of righteousness will not come solely in heaven, to hold out to those who hunger in spirit not only a Christ but also a J. Willard Marriott."

Material success translates into a growing Mormon population in the nation's capital. "Today, Washington has the highest concentration of Mormons east of the Mississippi River," maintains the feature. They "are well placed in Washington, and are in the very fabric of the place." Eleven Mormons now serve in Congress. Other influential Mormons include: L. Ralph Mechem, Washington Stake president, now a representative for Anaconda Company; Jack Carlson, head of the

National Association of Realtors; Jack Anderson, "next to the Osmonds . . . perhaps the most famous Mormon"; Dale Van Atta, Anderson's chief reporter; Lee Roderick, Washington reporter for the Scripps League newspaper chain; Merlo Pusey, editorial writer for the *Washington Post*; Glenn T. Potter, formerly a counselor in the Washington Stake presidency; William D. Ladd, former Washington Stake president and congressional liaison for the Agriculture Department; and Max Reed, director of personnel in the Department of Agriculture.

According to the *Washingtonian*, Reed saw to it that the "Mormon network" built by former Agriculture Secretary Ezra Taft Benson "stayed well greased."

Other departments with powerful Mormons include the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and military intelligence. Robert Bennett, with "shadowy connections throughout the intelligence community," is son of former Utah Senator Wallace Bennett; Marvin M. Poulton, first counselor in a Virginia stake, "is in military intelligence."

"There are a lot of Mormons in the CIA and FBI," agrees Dale Van Atta.

"They're represented disproportionately. You have a better chance of getting in if you're Mormon, and one of the reasons is that Mormons don't drink. But the real reason is that they're trusted, and there's a lot to be said for trust. Most Mormons I would trust far before I'd trust other people."

Other Mormons have come to town with the Reagan administration. Richard Wirthlin, former BYU professor, serves as Reagan's pollster; Richard Richards, former Utah State Republican chair, is chair of the Republican National Committee; and Terrell Bell from Utah is head of the Education Department.

Despite these connections, too much can be made of Mormon power. The *Washingtonian* concludes that while Mormons and Episcopalians have similar numbers in the United States as a whole, Episcopalians have seven times the representatives in Congress.

Mormon Media Image

Four other publications recently highlighted Utah or the Mormons: *Newsweek's* Kenneth L. Woodward wrote in the April 27th issue that "most missionaries are obedient, single-minded, and, if anything, over-zealous." Woodward found missionary discipline "unique," with missionaries "eager for adventure." He

described the missionary experience as a "rigid rite of passage" and concluded it is forever timely because "companions from the celestial kingdom will call on non-Mormons in the lower realms of heaven, offering them one last chance to accept the latter-day gospel of Joseph Smith."

"A comfortable search for roots," read the front page of the travel section in the *Milwaukee Journal* March 29th. Heritage Tours, for a modest fee, will shepherd the uninitiated genealogist to Salt Lake City, give free classroom instruction in genealogical techniques, and provide a special "Before You Come" packet for the would-be sleuth. "Booze or no booze," the *Journal* concludes, "evidently it's all healthy. According to Salt Lake City's record keepers, the city possesses the nation's highest birth rate and its lowest death rate."

"Joseph Smith was one of dozens of con-men working the American frontier in the 19th century who found religion a sure route to personal aggrandizement," is how D.L. Kent in "Joseph's Myth: A Fact Sheet on the Mormon Church" dismisses the life of the first Mormon prophet. Kent's article, published in the April issue of *American Atheist*, attacks the origins of the Church, dismisses Joseph Smith as insane, objects to Mormon treatment of homosexuals, says "the Mormon Church sheds no tears for physical murder," and concludes it "pervades the state of Utah and society wherever Mormons are found." But not to worry: the church is trivial and "is dying from within."

A front page story on Mormon temples graced the March 20th *Denver Post's* Religion Newsweekly. The article explained the significance of the temple, the reason it is not opened to non-Mormons, the kinds of ceremonies performed, and the clothing required for the ceremonies. Also featured was "Mormon Temple in Colorado is Unlikely for Now," a story which suggests for the foreseeable future most Colorado Mormons will continue to patronize the Manti temple.

LDS Objectors?

"There is no place in Mormon philosophy for the conscientious objector," Don LeFevre of the LDS church's public communications department said in responding to the Air Force general who suggested the Church had overlooked its responsibility to defend the nation (*Deseret News*, May 7 and *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 8).

"I recognize that LeFevre was trying to

reaffirm the Church's patriotism in the face of charges," commented Scott Lloyd in a letter to the *Deseret News* (May 14), "but the kindest thing I can say about his statement is that it is overly simplistic." Lloyd pointed out that the statement "implies blind acceptance of any conceivable military adventure undertaken in the name of national defense or patriotism." He suggested that a German citizen under Hitler would not have violated Church doctrine by resistance and said "I think within the Church there must be a spirit of tolerance for those of us who could not bring ourselves to participate in mass murder or genocide, even though we believe we could be excused for it in the hereafter."

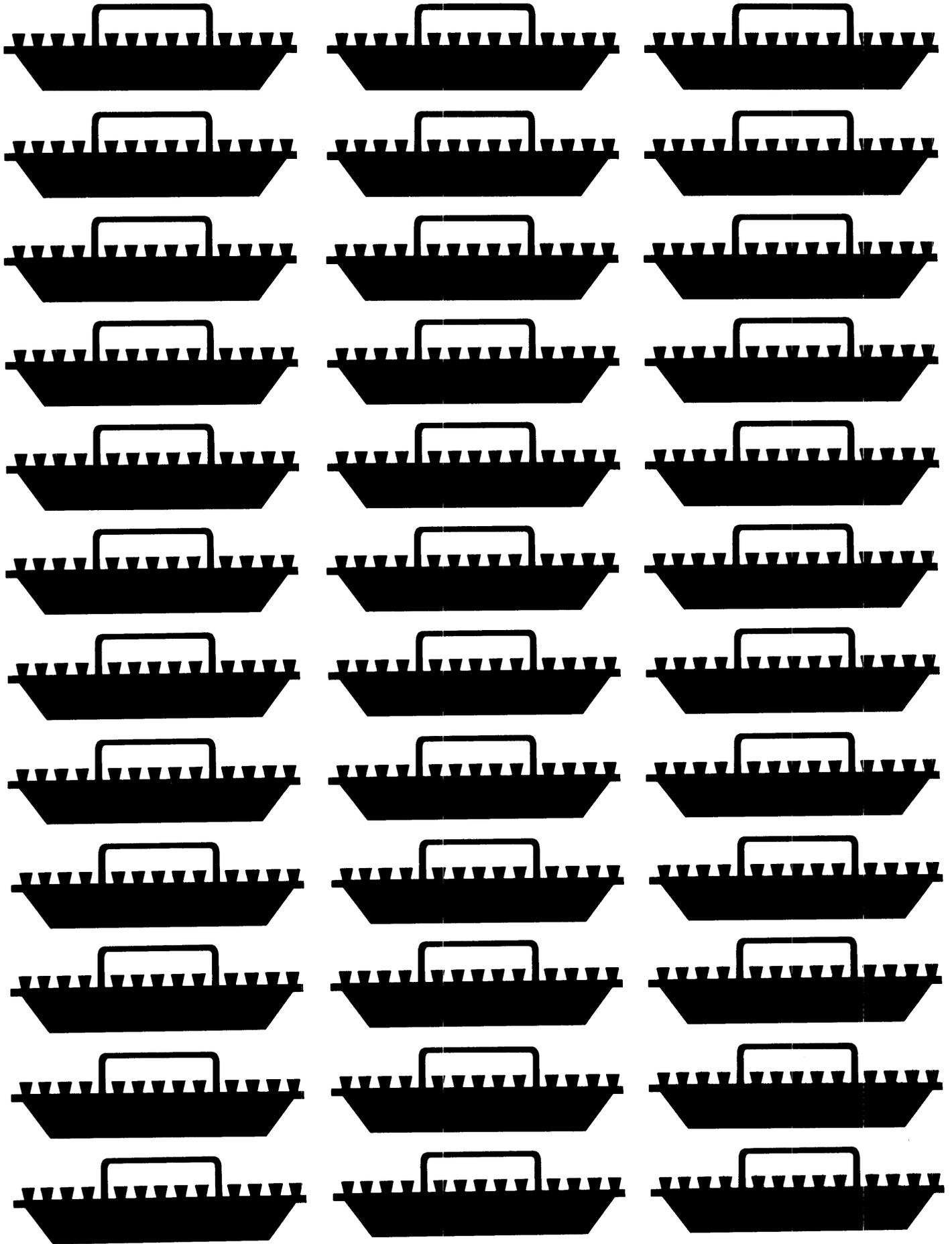
Man Fires Visitors Center

Charges of terrorism and arson have been filed against Max Asay, a 40-year-old Salt Lake City man accused of starting a fire in the Temple Square Visitors Center. According to complaints signed by Fire Lt. Kenneth D. Dailey before Fifth Circuit Judge Melvin H. Morris, Asay was in the visitors center 30 minutes before the fire, and later came back, causing a "ruckus."

The fire caused an estimated \$3,000 damage to curtains and portions of the walls. Asay was released on recognizance prior to the arson charge being filed.

Conserve Meetinghouses

Calling for wise use of Church resources, a March 2 message from the First Presidency announced new guidelines for the "Maximum Use of Church Physical Facilities." First, all future buildings will be constructed using "new, economical, standard meetinghouse plans," which will result in substantial savings. Second, buildings will be shared across ward, stake, and region boundaries in areas of high Church member concentration: "Although this may require limited travel for some local units, it will assist the Church in providing meetinghouses in other areas of the world where the need is great." Third, all existing meetinghouses will be shared by several units before additional buildings are constructed. Finally, every meetinghouse and Church building is to be "maintained at dedication standard in order to prolong its useful life and provide clean, attractive surroundings in which to worship the Lord." Noting that these measures are "departures from past practices," the First Presidency urged wholehearted support.



Ritual as Theology

Answers to ultimate questions about
God and man may not be found in
formal theology.

John L. Sorenson

THEOLOGY is usually considered an intellectual activity for philosophers and educated religionists who talk among themselves in carefully logical terms about the nature of God and man and the relationships between them. But philosophers are not the only ones concerned with clarifying or confirming answers to ultimate questions: the nature of sacred or suprahuman powers; the nature of humans and their potential; the means by which men, gods, and the universe came into existence. In fact, it is in the nature of our species, by virtue of humanity's very biological, psychological, and social condition, to seek to understand our place in the widest possible scheme of things. Unfortunately, the formal statements of the elite—based on logico-verbal communication which emphasizes disciplined, rational thought and a high degree of literacy—simply do not speak to most people.

Other mediums may. John Wiley Nelson in *Your God is Alive and Well and Appearing in Popular Culture* argued that the mass media presents the "American cultural religion" to millions of faithful worshipers weekly. Television particularly communicates "a systematically arranged set of answers to basic life-problem questions." The problems of life are defined, solutions proposed, and continual reinforcement given to the idea that cherished values indeed provide salvation from the threatening forces. John Wayne is a kind of pontiff of this belief system about the individual. Courage, competence, justice, and ultimate deliverance are under constant assault by ambiguous social forces, and traditional values must be confirmed again and again even while variants on the values are tried.¹

For Latter-day Saints drama has served a similar function. Gary L. Stewart, who analyzed 45 MIA plays, dis-

covered that the plays set out to reinforce commitment to the Church and virtues such as obedience, optimism, sacrifice, and family support. Problems are laid out and the process of moral decision-making is outlined. In the end, goodness is triumphant and evil thwarted as the standard Mormon protagonists figuratively ride off into the sunset. The situations and characters are as stereotyped as those in a Western movie (but not more so).²

Myth and lore also communicate values and beliefs. Answers to ultimate questions are found in the telling of a sacred story. Mormon missionaries do little more than relate the story of Joseph Smith's first vision when they want to explain our view of the nature of God and the need for restoration. Among ourselves, a recital of the tale of the crickets and seagulls or of an appearance of the Three Nephites serves similarly as a shorthand affirmation of a shared belief.³

Perhaps the most universal mode for communicating the meaning of life and the nature of divine powers, however, is ritual. By ritual I mean formal patterns of behavior in which issues of ultimate significance are affirmed, reflected, or brought into thoughtful consideration. Ritual thus defined can involve all of the senses. While words are usually included, words are not sufficient. Symbolic representations may require kinaesthetic motion, priests and devotees kneeling or gesturing, or processions moving slowly. Chants, singing, and instrumental music are added to the formulaic utterances by officiators and responses by participants. Visual effects can be important too. Costumes, spatial arrangement of participants, architecture, and decoration of the setting are often important.

To be sure, ritual is heavily dependent on verbal communication as well, although the language is often esoteric or stilted, not rational and thoughtful. I am not saying that ritual could, let alone should, be a substitute

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	Private/Family	Ward/Stake/Local	Temple	General Church
Patently Religious Ritual	Special blessing by father Prayer for family at funeral Dedicating grave Dedicating house Family home evening Family prayer Individual prayer Blessing on food Home teachers' visit Anointing sick Consecrating oil Fasting	Funeral Saying "Amen" Sustaining officers All meetings with devotional segments (song, prayer, conducting) Breaking ground or laying cornerstone Dedicating local structure Blessing an infant Confirming newly-baptized Setting apart Anointing the sick Consecrating oil Ordaining to the priesthood Patriarchal blessing Prayer circle Fasting Sacrament	Sealing, including marrying, living Sealing the dead Endowing the living Endowing the dead Baptizing the dead Confirming the dead Ordaining the dead Initiatory ordinances for the living and the dead Second anointings Prayer circle Preparatory meetings Solemn assembly Temple dedicating	Solemn assembly to sustain President Dedicating a nation for preaching the gospel Dedicating general church building Special fasting General conference, area conference Hosanna shout
Quasi-Religious Ritual	Family reunion Scripture study Missionary departure Visiting teachers' visit Preparing and caring for temple clothing Preparing family history and genealogy Working on welfare project	Sustaining action by officers Accepting new ward members Release with thanks Priesthood stewardship interview Easter commemoration program Christmas commemoration program Mothers' Day commemoration program Fireside/study group Missionary report Missionary lesson presentation Recommend interviewing Interview and calling one to accept an assignment Other interviewing Bearing testimony in fast meeting Tithing settlement	Receiving a name as proxy Placing name on prayer roll	
Social Ritual with Religious Overtones	For example, post-funeral eating and socializing by relatives	For example, wedding reception for ward members		For example, missionary reunion

for linguistic consideration of religion. The virtues of the two modes are different. Words can be highly ambiguous, yet they also have unique penetrating power. Ritual is often more universally applicable, yet a rite may not express subtle distinctions in meaning; a few words can be more focused or economical.

Mormons, of course, have been conditioned to believe in shortcomings of ritual and are decidedly uncomfortable with the word—we tend to always attach the adjective “mere.” Some Church authorities have said that the Latter-day Saints have no rituals, only “ordinances.” However, I suggest that rituals are very widely employed in Mormon religious life; the designated ordinances are only the beginning of a list. Furthermore, I maintain that rituals have been increasing in frequency and importance among us.

THE ceremony is rich enough that repeated participation does not exhaust its possibilities.

Consider the range of religious ritual in Mormon life, classified according to the degree of religious concern: (1) patently religious ritual; (2) quasi-religious ritual; and (3) social ritual with religious overtones. And classified according to participation: (A) personal or family, (B) congregational, (C) temple, and (D) general church. (See sidebar; this list is illustrative, not exhaustive; some historically dated, less common, or infrequently discussed rites are not included.)

All the behavior patterns listed seem to me to conform to the definition of religious ritual, even though conventional usage among Mormons does not give them all equal standing. Some of the rituals may best be termed ceremonies since there are component elements. Thus, the sacrament includes breaking bread, kneeling to bless the emblems, first passing each emblem to the presiding officer. The temple endowment ceremony is still more intricate, while general conference lasts for days and encompasses scores of component rites.

What ultimate issues emerge from the worshiper’s consideration of Mormon rituals? Virtually every principle and meaning we connect with the gospel. In the sacrament, for instance, the worshiper ponders the designated prayers under unusually evocative conditions; he or she may weigh such issues as how well he or she is keeping the commandments, in what sense his or her soul is to be sanctified, and what is the relationship of the Son to the Father. The ceremony is rich enough that repeated participation does not exhaust its possibilities. The terms, acts, and structure not only raise questions but help provide answers. The sacrament ritual reinforces the saving role of Christ and the congregation’s social sharing in this renewal as well as other important gospel beliefs—the authoritative role of the priesthood in administering the ceremony, the precedence of the authorities seated at the elevated front of the room, and the reverential orderliness in the whole proceeding.

The entire set of words, sounds, actions, sights, and even tastes constitutes a kind of language. Amid the silence of the sacrament, God and Christ “speak” to the worshipers about mercy, sin, repentance, perfection,

guilt, and obedience. Participants “speak” to each other by presenting themselves in the appointed place for the ceremony at the scheduled moment and taking the emblems (or, more eloquently, by not taking them) as a social act. Authorities “speak” to lesser priesthood and deacons to congregation by performing the required procedures. Even worshipers “speak” to themselves through actions and contemplations.

Much of the power of this language resides in its comprehensiveness. Surely it says more, to more persons, than a mere talk would. For many the sacrament ordinance is more consequential than the sermons which follow. The Church’s insistence on the absolute necessity of certain ordinances further underlines the point. For example, “the mysteries of godliness” cannot be expounded through purely linguistic discourse but only through ritual. Verbal explanation lays a foundation in understanding; then ritual affirms or clarifies what has been taught. The alternation of word and act continues rhythmically to expand the worshiper’s depth of perception.

Ritual can, of course, be didactic. It invariably involves a teacher—the authorized officiator. The baptizer, for instance, says in effect: “I am herewith displaying a vital, invariable principle through my action and yours.”

A rite may also be compared to a text. Repetition may be as essential in learning from ritual as it is in learning from verbal discourse. Often the depth of insight can only be penetrated progressively. Written texts, such as the scriptures, demand repeated searching at several levels; a text’s meanings are not easily exhausted. What one draws from a text depends heavily on one’s situation and experience to that moment. Rereading the text invites continuing reassessment, so the student participates in a process, not a single event. The implications of a given ritual, even where the substance is specified as in the temple ceremony, function much the same as those of a rich text.

Many people find such meaning and satisfaction in ritual that they inexorably elaborate existing forms. Mormons distrust ritual because of this fact. A number of examples of elaboration of LDS ritual were reported during World War II, when general Church officials could not closely supervise local affairs. Mormon con-

THE mysteries of godliness cannot be expounded through purely linguistic discourse but only through ritual.

gregations used candles in worship services in Europe and placed bottles of consecrated oil in the house corners in Hawaii to protect against evil spirits. Church leaders have fought for years to keep the sacrament free from detailed local prescriptions, deacons keeping one hand behind their back throughout the ceremony, for example. And a majority of members still teach their children to take the bread and water only with the right hand, despite repeated statements from General Authorities that there is no authoritative basis for the practice.

Even given such difficulties, I find evidence that LDS ritual is increasing. Though detailed statistics are not av-

ailable on the number of most rites performed, frequency of certain rituals must have increased as “activity” has risen during recent years. For example, attendance at sacrament meeting has gone up markedly, so ritual in that setting has also increased. Rarely does a Mormon meeting lack a ritual sequence: seating according to authority, prayer, greetings, congregational singing, and an agenda. Thus the more meetings held, the more rites performed. Family prayer and family home evening are apparently more frequent now than at most times in the past. More home teachers formally visit homes and pray with families; more officers are set apart; more members participate in area and general conferences. Admittedly, temple participation, on a per capita basis, is only marginally different from what it was 60 years ago, and special fasting is less common. Still, most of the common rituals are more frequently performed.⁴

It is interesting to note that while ritual has increased, formal theologizing has decreased. Both tendencies may very well be related to the increasing cultural diversity in the Church. In the days of the major systematizers of Mormon theology—Talmage, Roberts, Ballard, Widtsoe, and the young Joseph Fielding Smith—most Mormons shared a common conceptual background and usually language. Today Saints from far flung nations and from every corner of the United States have differing educational and class backgrounds and may share little in terms of experience, ideas, and learned symbols. A growing need for unity in the world Church has been met by concentrating on basic doctrines rather than continuing to elaborate theology. In fact, Church leaders have resisted theological discussion as potentially divisive and have pressed members to phrase gospel discourse in scriptural terms.⁵ Meanwhile the more universal language of the sacramental ordinance, rebirth and entry into the Church by baptism, family rituals, laying on hands, and the temple ceremonies have been encouraged. These apply in Japan or Samoa or Switzerland as appropriately as they apply in Manti. Structured ritual is more easily shared than the specific explanations of Talmage or Roberts.

I believe that this retrenchment of doctrine accompanied by expansion of ritual will not constrict the spiritual lives of Church members, however, but will rather expand them. Despite past efforts to systemize Mormon thought, a surprisingly wide spectrum of religious beliefs continues to exist among Latter-day Saints.⁶ Mark Leone in *Roots of Modern Mormonism* argued that

STRUCTURED ritual is more easily shared than the specific explanations of Talmage or Roberts.

Mormonism leaves individuals notable freedom to construct their own systems of belief. By what he calls “do-it-yourself theology” the Saints approach key questions of belief in their instructional classes, but these are usually not authoritatively resolved; instead members are left to settle upon their own answers in terms which fit with their social, cultural, and psychological circumstances and needs.⁷ Thus, Mormons have been able to fit some personal version or other of the gospel with

vegetarianism, apartheid, liberalism, capitalism, colonialism, and socialism, with greater or lesser difficulty according to the case. This “closet theologizing” is inevitable in an increasingly decentralized church.

The growing emphasis on ritual will only compound this tendency. Only the most minimal instruction is given about the “meanings” of the temple ceremonies. The sacred privacy of these rites make certain that discussion of them will remain general and vague; every participant is left to make of them what he or she can. Even baptism is little discussed, aside from a few traditional statements about which members remain somewhat unclear. So it is with most of the other sacred performances. Members are left to their own exegesis of these comprehensive “texts.”

The very universality of ritual thus ironically forces the individual into a supremely intimate relationship with God and life’s meanings. The Doctrine and Covenants (1:20, 19) points to the ideal of the restoration in this dispensation: That “every man might speak in the name of God” and that “man should not counsel his fellow man.” The prominence of ritual in Mormon life seems to lead us toward that ideal.

Notes

1. John Wiley Nelson, *Your God is Alive and Well and Appearing in Popular Culture*, Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976.
2. Gary L. Stewart, “A Rhetorical Analysis of Mormon Drama,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1968.
3. The popularity of aesthetic forms, whether dramatic, musical, graphic, or architectural, as expressions of belief stems in part from their convenience as “containers” (Compare my comment in F.L. Tullis, general editor, *Mormonism: A Faith for All Cultures*, Provo: BYU Press, 1978, p. 31) which we use to capture and store concepts and symbols in manageable form. This insistence on form even at the expense of accuracy is an axiom in folklore studies. See Clifton Jolley, “The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith: An Archetypal Study,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (Fall 1976): 329-350. The structural demands of the genre—in this case the “martyred hero narrative”—lead many of us to insist on the presence of features in the Carthage martyrdom which definitely were not there and which even the Church leaders have formally denied. But the need for closure must be met; we pack history and meanings into structural molds much as we tuck small articles into a handbag, for convenience.
4. This paper was delivered before the advent of the combined meeting schedule.
5. This trend toward more universalized communication also shows up in the emphasis on scripture, which provides a common phrasing for discourse about the gospel for Mormons. Individual members are now urged by leaders to study the scriptures more often and more systematically than at any time in the past. A study by A. Kim Smith (“An Effect of Media Coverage on General Conference,” unpublished) has shown that the number of scriptures cited in General Conference talks increased over four times between 1900 and 1974.
6. Scholars have not yet gone very far in learning what individual Mormons hold in their world views. We have bits and pieces of attitudinal data from surveys which report that most Mormons give the “correct” answers when questioned, yet abundant anecdotal evidence also suggests that substantial individual and regional variation lies beneath the “official theology.” Horsley’s thesis on a “heretical trend” in one aspect of belief among a southern Utah population (A. Bert Horsley, “The Consideration of a Possible Heretical Trend Developing in the Religious Philosophy of the Latter-day Saints People in a Given Geographical Area,” MA thesis, BYU, 1954), some of my data on funeral practices and death beliefs (“Mormon Funeral Behavior,” unpublished), and Richard Poll’s distinction between “liahonas” and “iron-rodders” (“What the Church Means to People Like Me,” *Dialogue* 2:107-18), as well as other studies, hint that a wide spectrum of beliefs exists.
7. Mark Leone, *Roots of Modern Mormonism*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979, p. 188.

MORMONISM IN BLACK AFRICA

Changing Attitudes and Practices 1830-1981

BLACK AFRICA SEEMED
FORBIDDING TO EARLY
MORMONS, WHO
PREACHED ONLY TO
WHITES, BUT ALL THAT IS
CHANGING.



ON SEPTEMBER 29, 1978, just three months after the June announcement that as a result of revelation worthy men of all races, including blacks, were eligible for the Latter-day Saint priesthood, President Spencer W. Kimball admonished a Regional Representatives Seminar in Salt Lake City to pursue their "divine commission to preach the gospel in every nation and to every creature." He encouraged missionary work on "the whole continent of Africa," where black Africans "have waited so long already." He looked forward to missionaries in "Ghana . . . Nigeria, Libya, Ethiopia, the Ivory Coast, . . . the Sudan" and elsewhere in black Africa¹—a continent with "more than one-tenth of the entire population of the world."

President Kimball's speech underscores the emerging emphasis on ac-

NEWELL G. BRINGHURST, who teaches history at Indiana University at Kokomo, received an MHA award in 1979 for "Elijah Abel and the Changing Status of Blacks Within Mormonism." A book, *Saints, Slaves and Blacks: The Changing Place of Blacks Within Mormonism*, will be published by Greenwood Press in December.

tively proselytizing among African blacks. This stands in sharp contrast to the limited involvement by the Church during the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth. In fact, Mormon attitudes and practices towards the black residents of Africa have gone through three basic phases.

The first phase lasted from 1830 to 1850. During this period, Mormon spokesmen seemed of two minds about sub-Sahara Africa. On the one hand, early Latter-day Saints believed that they must carry the message of Mormonism to all people, regardless of race, color, or creed. The Book of Mormon explained that the Lord "in-viteth" all mankind

to come unto him and partake of his goodness; and he denieth none that come unto him, black and white, bond and free, male and female, and he remembereth the heathen, and all are alike unto God, both Jew and Gentile.²

In this same spirit an early Church hymn published in 1835 admonished the Mormons to

Go forth all ye servants unto every nation . . .

NEWELL G. BRINGHURST

Go pass, throughout Europe, and Asia's dark

Regions to China's far shores, and to Africa's Black legions and proclaim to all people as You're passing by the fig-trees are leaving— The summer is nigh. . . .³

Five years later, Apostle Parley P. Pratt expressed this same universal theme in a hymn in which the "Chosen Twelve [Apostles]" had

The keys of this last ministry to every nation under heaven from land to land, from sea to sea. . . .

India's and Africa's sultry plains Must hear the tidings as they roll Where darkness, death, and sorrow reign And tyranny has held control'd⁴

In that same year, Joseph Smith enthused that "people from every land and from every nation" would soon be "flocking to" Nauvoo—"the polished European" and "the degraded Hottentot."⁵

On the other hand, the Latter-day Saints did not send missionaries to black Africa despite this universalistic rhetoric and despite the fact that other Christian denominations were proselytizing there.⁶ Mormons remained skeptical about any potential success in the area. In 1845, the *Times and Seasons* asked:

Have the common propensities of the heathen to do evil been lessened by the labors of the clergy, in as great a proportion as drunkenness and debauchery had increased by civilized intercourse under the board of foreign mission?⁷

The Mormons seemed to reject potential missionary work in the area at that time for two reasons. Though skeptical about missionary work, Mormon publications did talk about the possibility of sending ex-slaves to Africa. One article, appearing in the *Evening and Morning Star* in 1833, described the colonization of emancipated American blacks in Africa as one of the "wonderful events of this age."⁸ Another journal, the *Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate*, cryptically noted four years later:

Of Africa we can say but little, only that it was once the home of the black man. Liberia is situated on its coast and is famous for the colony of emancipated negroes established there by the munificence of citizens of our own government.⁹

Africa might be a wonderful place to send ex-slaves, but most Mormons did not find the continent a compelling place to go themselves. It was forbidding. Even in the sweeping universalistic rhetoric of the songs about preaching the gospel world

THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST

(L.D.S. RESTORED MISSION GHANA)

Certificate of Baptism

"And Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water; and, to the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and lighting upon him."
Math. 3 v 16



THE HOLY GHOST BAPTISER

Hearken, O ye Gentiles, and hear the words of Jesus Christ The Son of the Living God. Turn all ye Gentiles, from your wicked ways; and repent of your evil doings . . . and from all your wickedness and abominations and come unto me, and be baptized in my name, that ye may receive a remission of your sins, and be filled with the Holy Ghost, that ye may be numbered with my people who are of the house of Israel.

3 Nephi 30-2

This is to certify that

was Baptised by Immersion at
CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

Date of Birth: Date Baptised:

Station: Officiating Minister

THE 13 ARTICLES OF FAITH OF THE CHURCH

1. We believe in God, the Eternal Father, and in His Son, Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost.
2. We believe that men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgression.
3. We believe that through the Atonement of Christ, all mankind may be saved, by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the Gospel.
4. We believe that the first principles and ordinances of the Gospel are: first, Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; second, Repentance; third, Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; fourth, Laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost.
5. We believe that a man must be called of God, by prophecy, and by the laying on of hands, by those who are in authority to preach the Gospel and administer in the ordinances thereof.
6. We believe in the same organization that existed in the Primitive Church, viz., apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists etc.
7. We believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues etc.
8. We believe the Bible to be the word of God as far as it is translated correctly; we also believe the Book of Mormon to be the word of God.
9. We believe all that God has revealed, all that He does now reveal, and we believe that He will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the Kingdom of God.
10. We believe in the literal gathering of Israel and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes; that Zion will be built upon this (continent) continent; that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisaical glory.
11. We claim the privilege of worshipping Almighty God according to the dictates of our own conscience, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how, where, or what they may.
12. We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, in obeying, honouring, and sustaining the law.
13. We believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to all men; indeed, we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul—We believe all things, we hope all things, we have endured many things, and hope to be able to endure all things. If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report or praiseworthy, we seek after these things—*Joseph Smith*.

MEANTSIMAN PRESS LTD CAPE COAST

Members received these certificates of baptism before official church contact in 1979.

wide, Africa was a gloomy place where "sorrow reigned" and "tyranny" controlled.

But Mormons had a second, even more basic reason, for avoiding contact with black Africans. Blacks, according to a widely-held belief, were inherently unfit for conversion to the true faith. Mormon writings, scriptural and otherwise, characterized black skin color as the symbol of a divine curse and thus lent theological support to the stereotype.¹⁰ These ra-

cial characteristics were the outward indication that black Africans were less likely to convert to Mormonism than other ethnic groups.¹¹ Joseph Smith seemed to allude to this view in his 1840 statement that the Hottentot was "degraded" and in an 1844 statement that "Africa, from the curse of God has lost the use of her limbs."¹² While the Mormons continued to believe that black Africans and other ethnic-racial groups would eventually be converted, they felt that

this process would not take place until some indefinite time in the future.

In 1852, the Latter-day Saints finally launched some proselytizing efforts in Africa—in Capetown, South Africa. But in contrast to other Christian denominations, the Mormons preached only to the white European immigrants, not the native blacks.¹³ This move signaled the beginning of a second phase—a limited missionary phase—which would last, with some interruptions, for a hundred years.

EVEN in the universalistic rhetoric of the songs about preaching the gospel world wide, Africa was a gloomy place where sorrow and tyranny reigned.

Mormon missionaries avoided contact with the Kaffir and Fingoe populations because they had “too much of the blood of Cain in them, for the Gospel to have much effect on their dark spirits.”¹⁴ But they did regard the region’s dark-skinned Malay-Mohammedan population as potential converts. Jesse Haven, the Mormon leader in Capetown, believed this ethnic group would “yet receive the Gospel” because they were “descendants of Abraham by his wife Hagar.” Even though their skins were “darker than the American Indian,” they had “none of the Negro features.”¹⁵ Despite such statements, however, Church missionary efforts focused on the whites, though even among this group there were few converts.¹⁶ Many of those who did join the Church eventually migrated to Utah—including, interestingly enough, at least four African blacks.¹⁷

For at least two reasons, missionary activity in South Africa came to a temporary halt in 1865—a suspension which lasted until 1903. This action was part of the Church’s worldwide scaling-down of missionary efforts during the vigorous campaign waged in the United States against the Mormons and their peculiar institution of polygamy.¹⁸ In addition, success in the area had always been limited. Church missionaries often com-

plained about the difficulty of finding converts.¹⁹ According to one disappointed missionary, South Africa was a “hard country to labor in” and “darkness” seemed to “reign throughout this land of Ham.”²⁰ Thus, the black majority was again tagged as the factor retarding Mormon growth.²¹ Indeed, one anxious missionary, A.H. Noon, writing from South Africa during the American Civil War, expressed his belief that South Africa, because of its wickedness and failure to embrace the true faith, would soon be engulfed in a civil war of its own. In “a few short years,” he wrote, “. . . God will stir up the Kaffirs and make the instruments of his anger.” But the chances for a white victory in such a race war did not seem bright to him since whites were outnumbered by blacks ten to one.²²

Although such a race war failed to materialize, hostilities did develop between two groups of South African whites—the Boer-Afrikaners and the region’s English-speaking population. This conflict, which climaxed in the Boer War of 1899-1902, delayed the return of Mormon missionaries to South Africa until 1903. When Mormon missionaries finally returned, they continued to focus their efforts on South Africa’s white population. Nonetheless, during the early 1900s, a significant number of black Africans were unexpectedly attracted to the Church. Local leaders were concerned; in 1903 H.L. Steed, president of the mission, wrote to Utah seeking advice on how to handle this unexpected situation which “he had not encouraged.” Steed was told to “preach the gospel” to those blacks who expressed interest. But the intermingling of blacks and whites should be avoided and black members “should be encouraged to form branches composed of their own class of people.”²³

Two years later, the “great many blacks [that] had become members of the Church in South Africa” also posed problems for B.A. Hendricks, the new president of the mission there. Hendricks asked Church leaders in Utah if black members could enter Mormon temples to be baptized and confirmed on behalf of their dead ancestors. This question was important because of the Church’s ban on black priesthood ordination—a prohibition in effect since the late 1840s.²⁴

In response, Church President Joseph F. Smith wrote that black Africans *could* enter Mormon temples in order to perform the ordinances of baptism and confirmation for their deceased relatives. At the same time, Smith told Hendricks *not* “to encourage the Negro saints of South Africa to emigrate to Zion in order . . . to do temple work in behalf of their dead.” Like his predecessors, he reaffirmed the prevailing Mormon practice, that South African missionaries confine their efforts to “the white class of people” and avoid black Africans.²⁵

Despite this advice, the problems of blacks and their place in the South African mission continued to haunt Mormon leaders into the 1920s. Don Mack Dalton, mission president in 1929, had to grapple with the “color question” at Mowbray, the largest branch in the area. He described certain “smart” and “obnoxious” black members of the branch and suggested the “possibility of segregating those with color from the full whites.”²⁶ It is not clear whether Dalton’s proposal was actually carried out, but it appears that the Church in South Africa did not experience these types of difficulties after 1930.²⁷ Indeed, the total number of black Africans associated with the Mormon movement in South Africa was probably never very large.²⁸

By the mid-twentieth century, Mormonism’s focus in Africa shifted to Nigeria. This marked the beginning of a third phase of Mormon activity in sub-Saharan Africa—deliberate Mormon involvement with African

MORMON writings characterized black skin color as the symbol of a divine curse and thus lent theological support to racial stereotypes.

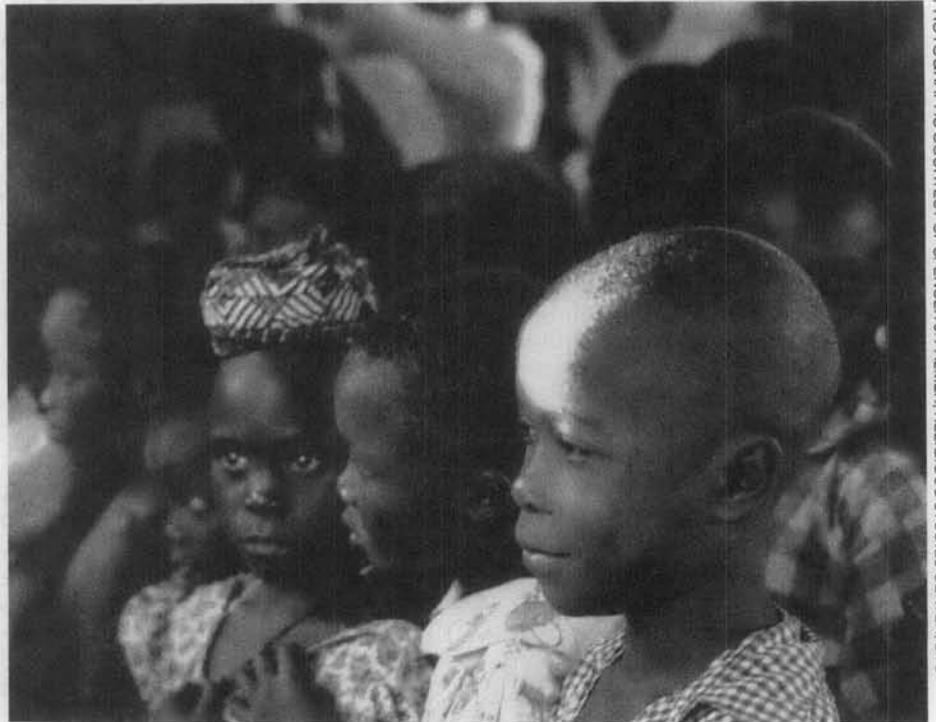
blacks. Actually, the initial impetus did *not* come from the Mormons themselves, but rather from a black Nigerian citizen, O.J. Umordak of the Uyo District. In 1946 Umordak, who had somehow heard about the Church, wrote to the president of the South African mission asking for Mormon literature and missionaries

for Nigeria. Church leaders in Salt Lake City, who learned of his request, delayed their response until they could "give the matter further consideration." Impatient, Umordak asked again the following year. Again, Church leaders "decided to postpone [an] answer" until the question received further study.²⁹

Finally, in 1959 Utah leaders dispatched the requested tracts along with a Church representative from Salt Lake City.³⁰ After evaluating the Nigerian situation, the Church in early 1963 decided "to open missionary work" in this black African nation. Five missionaries under the leadership of Elder LaMar S. Williams were set apart for this purpose.³¹ The Church made tentative plans to set up a large number of Sunday Schools, headed by Nigerians but supervised by white missionaries, who would travel from congregation to congregation teaching and administering the sacrament and other ordinances. Schools and small hospitals, as well as churches, were also proposed.³² The 1963 decision to establish this mission represented a revolutionary departure from the long-established practice of not proselytizing among black people. Thus the decision probably helped to fuel rumors that Mormon leaders were on the verge of abandoning their longstanding priesthood ban for blacks. These rumors, however, proved to be premature. In reality, the Latter-day Saints never had

AFTER evaluating the Nigerian situation, the Church in early 1963 decided to open missionary work there.

the opportunity to establish this mission. In March 1963, the Nigerian government, through a strongly-worded editorial in the *Nigerian Outlook*, expressed its displeasure at Mormon anti-black practices, particularly black priesthood denial.³³ As a result, the Nigerian government denied resident visas to the Mormon missionaries.³⁴ Finally, the possibility of any further Mormon activity in Nigeria was effectively precluded by the outbreak of civil war in Biafra in the late 1960s.³⁵



Members, Crossriver State, Nigeria

Whether the aborted plans for a Nigerian mission helped to prepare for the ultimate decision to abandon black priesthood denial is unclear. But certainly the revelation, when it finally came, removed a major impediment to Mormon missionary activity in sub-Saharan Africa. Just five days after the announcement, Spencer W. Kimball indicated that the Church would send missionaries into black Africa.³⁶ In August 1978 two special representatives for the Church, Edwin Q. Cannon, Jr., and Merrill Bateman, left for Nigeria on a fact-finding trip.³⁷ In November 1978 President Kimball asked Cannon to return to Nigeria with his wife and another Mormon couple, Mr. and Mrs. Rendell N. Mabey, in order "to do religious service there for one year." They operated as "special representatives of the International Mission." In addition to their primary fact-finding responsibilities, the two couples were "authorized to baptize, confirm, ordain to the priesthood, and establish the Church there."³⁸ The Cannons and Mabeys also visited the neighboring country of Ghana. They found enthusiastic grass roots interest in Mormonism in both countries. Those black Africans interested in the Church were mainly Christians who had, in many cases, already learned about Mormonism from tracts and from friends and relatives who had been converted. In some cases,

these native blacks had formed their own unauthorized branches of the "Mormon Church." When the Cannons and Mabeys visited these branches, they were enthusiastically

WEST African mission leaders have implemented a go slow policy until they can get the native leadership trained.

received because of their status as official representatives of the Church. Thus by the time they returned to Utah in November 1979, over 1700 Nigerians and Ghanians were on the rolls of the Church.³⁹

Such grass roots response was also noted by Garth Mangum, another Utah Mormon who visited Nigeria under the auspices of the State Department in the summer of 1980. Mangum found that the Church enjoyed its greatest strength in "the small towns and villages which are quite isolated" but had only limited support in the large cities such as Lagos.⁴⁰ Responding to the interest in Mormonism, Church officials organized the Africa West Mission in July 1980. Presided over by Bryan Espenschied, the mission includes Nigeria and Ghana and is headquartered at Enugu, Imo State, Nigeria.⁴¹

Meanwhile, local leaders in South Africa, encouraged by officials in Utah, have tried to fulfill the spirit of the 1978 revelation by reaching out to "colored" and black African people.⁴² While white South Africans, in the words of one observer, have "been remarkable" in accepting "Church discipline" on this question, they have not been completely enthusiastic.⁴³ Typical were the remarks of one old Afrikaner who said, "I don't like it, but if that's the way the Lord told his prophet, it's got to be and I have to learn to accept it."⁴⁴ South African Church officials have also found it difficult to get "coloreds" or African blacks to join the Church and participate in the activities of the predominantly white branches. According to another Mormon observer, one reason blacks and "coloreds" have been reluctant to join is peer pressure from other blacks who shun them for their association with white men in a religion dominated by whites.⁴⁵ Despite these problems, Mormon leaders in April 1981 announced plans to build a temple in South Africa.

While the abandonment of black priesthood denial has facilitated Mormon missionary work among black Africans, certain basic problems remain. First, as Mormonism continues to expand in sub-Saharan Africa, it must preserve the uniqueness or "orthodoxy" of a number of beliefs and practices which makes it appealing to black residents in this region: the belief in a plurality of Gods, a pre-existence, eternal progression, apocalyptic millennialism, the idea of a church led by a "living prophet," the ability to perform certain sacred ordinances for one's dead ancestors and an emphasis on the virtues of a strong family. The Church's ability to main-

WHAT impact will the influx of blacks and other third world people have on Mormon theology and Church institutions?

tain the purity of these beliefs is apparently becoming more difficult in the more remote, isolated areas in Nigeria and Ghana—areas where the Church is currently enjoying its greatest appeal. Since many of these Mormon

concepts are similar to those found in traditional indigenous African cults and in independent Christian denominations,⁴⁶ there is a tendency for isolated African Mormons to deviate from accepted Mormon doctrines and modes of worship and lapse into African ones.⁴⁷

This problem is compounded by the small number of adequately trained native leaders. While men such as Anthony Uzodimma Obinna and Cyril Mbata in Nigeria and Joseph W.B. Johnson in Ghana have provided extraordinary local leadership, the Mormons could use many more such leaders.⁴⁸ In fact, according to one observer, West African mission leaders have implemented a "go slow" policy or "moratorium" on baptizing new members "until they can get the native leadership trained."⁴⁹

A second problem is the competition that the Utah Mormon Church faces from two rival Mormon groups—the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and the Church of Jesus Christ (or the Bickertonite Mormons). The Bickerto-

nites have been active in this region since the 1950s, particularly in Nigeria and Ghana. According to its own figures, this group has 3000 members (42 branches) in Nigeria and 200 members in Ghana.⁵⁰ The Reorganized Church, active in Africa since the early 1960s, claims 2500 members in Nigeria, 250 in Liberia, and 40 in Kenya.⁵¹

MANY Mormon concepts are similar to those found in traditional African cults and independent Christian denominations.

It will be interesting to see how Utah Mormonism meets these and other challenges. Can the Church continue to attract large numbers of black African converts while at the same time maintaining the loyalty of those who have already joined?⁵²



Cape Coast chapel in Ghana, as the missionaries found it before contact with the church



Relief Society, Crossriver State, Nigeria

What role will the Church play in fulfilling the material needs of these black African converts, many of whom are poorly fed, ill-housed, and uneducated? Spencer W. Kimball

RACISM has always been at variance with Latter-day Saint universalism.

suggested that Church members have an obligation to

help educate the youth of these congregations and teach them the principles of growth and development which will allow them to improve themselves economically and culturally as well as spiritually and intellectually.⁵³

One final question, which is perhaps the most intriguing of all: what impact will the continuing influx of blacks as well as other so-called "third world" people have on Mormon theology and Church institutions? Will the Church accept and adopt "African-like" modes of worship or even beliefs? Will Church leaders assume more of a "third world" orientation in the way they view and approach basic social, economic, and political questions?⁵⁴

Whatever the response to these new problems, the transformation of Mormon attitudes and practices which has already taken place in sub-Saharan Africa is significant for two reasons. First, the Church's eventual embrace of the area's black resi-

dents as well as its white ones parallels the evolution of Mormonism from a small sect with very limited-ethnic-geographic appeal into a worldwide religion with members from a wide variety of racial-ethnic groups—white, red, yellow, brown, and now black.⁵⁵ Active Mormon involvement with black Africans also signals the eclipse of racism, which has always been at variance with Latter-day Saint universalism. With the Church's missionaries and its priesthood freely offered to blacks, the call to join the restored gospel can now be extended to all peoples—regardless of race, color, or creed.

Notes

An earlier version of this essay was presented at an Adjunct Session of the Mormon History Association held in conjunction with the American Historical Association Meeting in Washington, D.C., in December 1980. The author wishes to express his deep appreciation for the suggestions and information provided by the following individuals: Lester E. Bush, Jr., Associate Editor of *Dialogue*; Garth L. Mangum of the University of Utah; Edward L. Kimball and David J. Whittaker of Brigham Young University; William F. Lye of Utah State University; Edwin Q. Cannon, Jr., of the International Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; and Dwight W. Hoover of Ball State University. Without the assistance of these individuals, this article would not have been possible.

1. Spencer W. Kimball, "The Uttermost Parts of the Earth," *The Ensign*, 2-9.

2. Book of Mormon, 2 Nephi 26:33.

3. W.W. Phelps, "There's a feast of fat things for & C.," contained in *A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Church of the Latter Day Saints* (Kirtland, Ohio, 1835) edited by Emma Smith.

4. Parley P. Pratt, "Ye Chosen Twelve" contained in *A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, in Europe*, selected by Brigham Young, Parley P. Pratt, and John Taylor, 1840.

5. *Times and Seasons* (Nauvoo, Illinois), October 1840.

6. For a good general overview of the history of Christian missionary activity in Sub-Saharan Africa see C.P. Groves, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa* (London, 1948-58), 4 vols. For a study of missionary activity in Nigeria see E.A. Ayandele, *The Mission Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914* (London, 1966).

7. *Times and Seasons*, 1 May 1845.

8. *Evening and Morning Star* (Independence, Missouri), July 1833. However, an earlier issue of this same publication was careful to note the difficulties and hazards involved in such colonizing efforts. See *Evening and Morning Star*, April 1833.

9. *Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate* (Kirtland, Ohio), June 1837.

10. This view particularly is evident in the Books of Moses and Abraham (The Pearl of Great Price) which like The Book of Mormon are considered as Holy Scripture on a par with the Bible. In justifying the lack of Mormon involvement among blacks, Church apologists would often cite: Moses 7:8; 7:12; 7:22, Abraham 1:21-27.

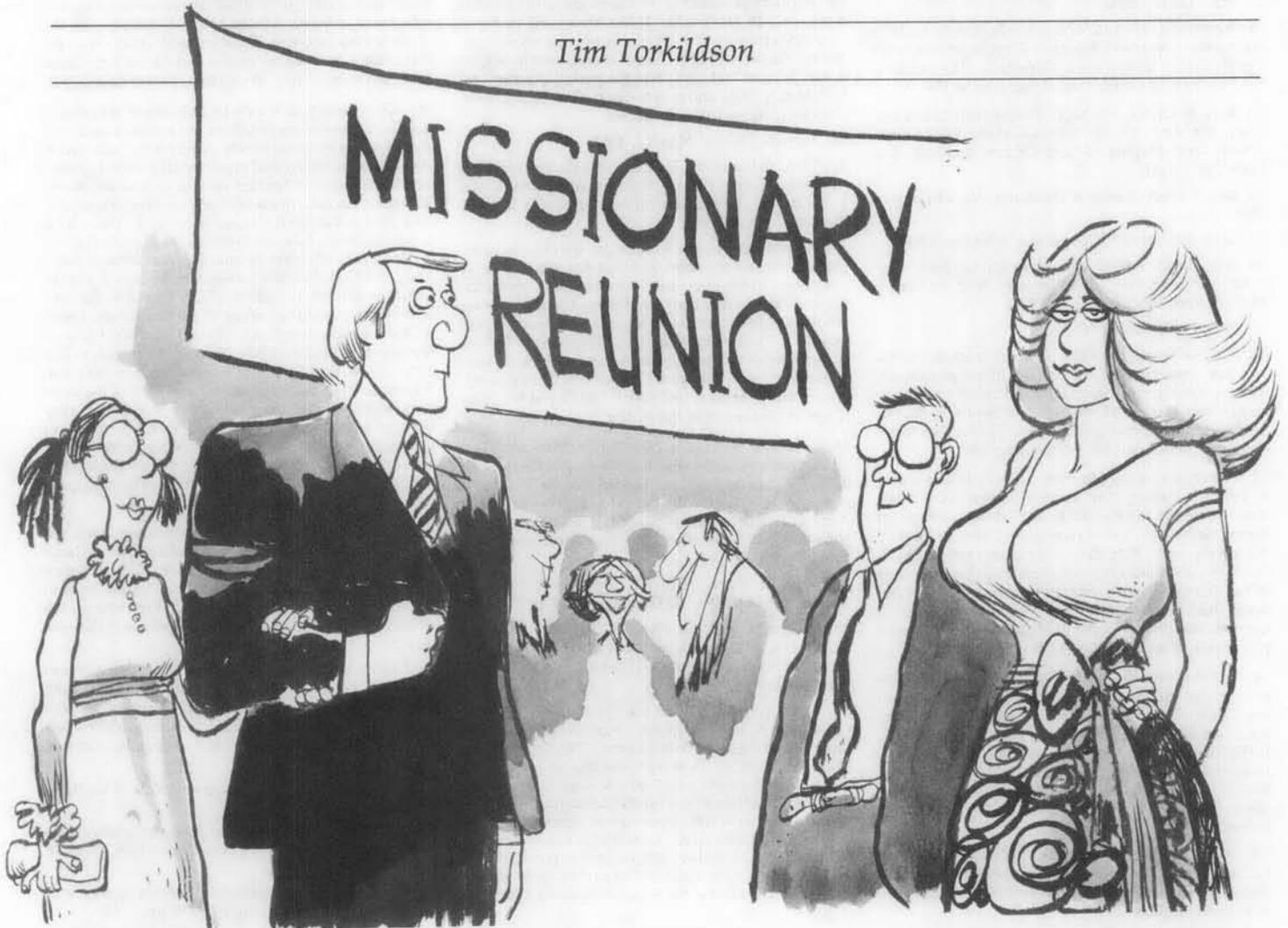
11. For two somewhat different views concerning the relationship between such racist attitudes and Mormon doctrine and practice see Lester E. Bush, Jr., "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview," *Dialogue* 8 (Spring 1973): 11-68 and Newell G. Bringham, "An Ambiguous Decision: The Implementation of Black Priesthood Denial for the Black Man," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Winter 1978): 45-64.

12. *Times and Seasons*, 4 June 1844.
13. Lawrence E. Cummins, "The Saints in South Africa," *The Ensign*, 4-10 gives a brief overview of Mormon missionary activity in this region. Also see Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedia History of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, 1941), 808-9 and David J. Whittaker, "Early Mormon Imprints in South Africa," *BYU Studies* 20 (Summer 1980): 404-16.
14. *Latter Day Saints Millennial Star* (Liverpool, England), June 7, 1856. However, according to David J. Whittaker quoting Jesse Haven Diaries located in the LDS Church Archives in Salt Lake City, several blacks were baptized during the 1850s. See entries for 2 August 1853, 19 March 1854, 15 September 1854, as quoted in letter from David J. Whittaker to Newell G. Bringham, 9 December 1980 (letter in possession of author).
15. *Ibid.*, 17 May 1856.
16. According to Jenson's *Encyclopedic History*, by 1855 there were 6 Mormon Branches (Congregations) with a total of 126 in South Africa. Cummins, "The Saints in South Africa" gives the total at that time as 176.
17. Kate B. Carter, *The Negro Pioneer* (Salt Lake City, Utah, 1965) pp. 47, 49. "Journal History," 13 September 1861 (Original in LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah).
18. Orson Pratt, *Journal of Discourses*, VI, 24 January 1858.
19. *Latter Day Saints Millennial Star*, 6 February 1864.
20. *Ibid.*, 19 December 1863. Also see the *Latter Day Saints Millennial Star* for 13 January 1855, 14 March 1857, 19 April 1862.
21. *Ibid.*, 14 November 1863.
22. *Ibid.*, 10 December 1864. Mormon fears about the war-like tendencies of the black African population were probably re-enforced by the tribal hostilities waged between the Hottentots and Ambacas during the 1860s, as reported in the Mormon press. See *Latter Day Saints Millennial Star*, 9 November 1861.
23. "Council Meeting Minutes," 27 May 1980 in Adam S. Bennion Papers. The Bennion Papers were originally located in the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University but were removed from circulation during the mid-1970s. Prior to this removal, Lester E. Bush, Jr., obtained a typescript copy of those portions of the Bennion Papers relevant to Mormon-black relations. Bush has collected these typescript copies in "A Compilation on the Negro in Mormonism" (copies in possession of author and in LDS Church Archives).
24. For the best discussion of the origins and development of Mormon black priesthood denial see: Lester E. Bush, Jr., "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview." Also see Newell G. Bringham, "An Ambiguous Decision: The Implementation of Black Priesthood Denial for the Black Man," and forthcoming book, *Saints Slaves and Blacks: The Changing Place of Blacks Within Mormonism* (Westport, Connecticut, 1981).
25. "Council Meeting Minutes," 10 November 1910 and letter from Joseph F. Smith and Anthon H. Lund to Rudger Clawson, 18 November 1910. Both in Adam S. Bennion Papers.
26. Letter from Don Mack Dalton to Heber J. Grant, 11 September 1929. It is unclear whether Mormon officials in Salt Lake City approved of Dalton's suggestion. A letter from the Church First Presidency to Don Mack Dalton, 9 November 1929, seemed to sidestep this question. Both of the above in Adam S. Bennion Papers. However, according to Lester E. Bush, Jr., a group of black South African Mormons had formed their own Mormon group, the "Branch of Love" during the 1920s. See Bush, "Compilation on the Negro in Mormonism," p. 99. Also see: Hal Knight, "Touching Temple fulfills a dream for aged women," *Church News*, March 7, 1981, which describes the activities of Alice Daniels Okkers, a long-time black member of the Church in South Africa whose father apparently organized this "Branch of Love" because "the social atmosphere of the time made it difficult" for this black family to meet with the regular Mormon branch near Capetown.
27. My own tentative conclusions based on an examination of various materials on the South African mission contained in the Bush, "Compilation on the Negro in Mormonism" and elsewhere.
28. This conclusion is based on the fact that the total white Mormon membership of the South African mission was itself never very large. By 1930, the mission numbered only 800. And although it had grown to 5,856 by 1971, this number is not very large within the context of South Africa's total white population of 3.8 million in 1970.
29. Council Meeting, 24 October 1946, Council Meeting minutes, 9 October 1947, Adam S. Bennion Papers.
30. *Time*, 18 June 1965.
31. *Deseret News*, 11 January 1963.
32. Account of Lamar S. Williams given to Lester E. Bush, Jr., 26 November 1968, contained in Bush, "Compilation on the Negro in Mormonism," pp. 365-66. An account of Williams' experiences in Nigeria is his "Journal" which covers the period October 1961 to February 1965, and is in the LDS Church Archives. However, access to it is restricted.
33. *Nigerian Outlook*, March 5, 1963.
34. *Time*, 18 June 1965. For the best collection of source materials dealing with the Nigerian Mission see Lester E. Bush, Jr., "Compilation on the Negro in Mormonism," pp. 360-368.
35. According to Lester E. Bush, Jr., the objections expressed by the Nigerian government were "largely overcome." However, the "Church itself tabled the project—apparently because of the potential expenses involved in the educational and medical services projected. . . ." Lester E. Bush, Jr., "Response to Newell G. Bringham's 'Mormonism Amongst Blacks in sub-Saharan Africa: A Historical Overview of Changing Attitudes and Practices, 1830-1980'" 28 December 1980. (Copy in possession of the author.)
36. *Deseret News*, 13 June 1978. For an informative discussion of recent Mormon activity in West Africa see: Spencer J. Palmer, "Mormons in West Africa: New Terrain for the Sesquicentennial Church," Annual Religion Faculty Lecture, Brigham Young University, 27 September 1979 (typescript copy available from BYU).
37. John L. Hart, "Church Spreads in Nigeria, Ghana," *Church News*, 22 December 1979, p. 5.
38. "Nigeria: A Rich History," *Church News* 4 November 1978, p. 4; letter from Edwin Q. Cannon, Jr., to Newell G. Bringham, 17 February 1981 (original in possession of the author).
39. John L. Hart, "Church Spreads in Nigeria, Ghana," p. 5. Janet Bingham, "Nigeria and Ghana: A Miracle Precedes the Messengers," *The Ensign* (February 1980): 73-76. There is some disagreement with this figure. According to Garth Mangum there were only "about 500 members" and according to Spencer J. Palmer there were 1000 Mormons in Nigeria as of September 1979. Letter from Garth Mangum to Newell G. Bringham, 2 December 1980 (original in possession of author); Spencer J. Palmer, "Mormons in West Africa: New Terrain for the Sesquicentennial Church," p. 10.
40. Gerry Avant, "Nigerian members share testimonies, grow in knowledge," *Church News*, 1 November 1980; Letter from Garth Mangum to Newell G. Bringham, 2 December 1980.
41. "Africa W. Mission leader announced," *Church News*, 6 September 1980. However, there is some confusion over the precise date this mission was established. According to Carlos E. Asay, President of the LDS International Mission, "the Africa West Mission, was officially created in July [1980]." Letter from Carlos E. Asay to Newell G. Bringham, 4 December 1980 (original in possession of author). However, according to the September 6, 1980, *Church News* Article cited above, Esperschied had been presiding over this mission "since April 17 [1980]."
42. Hal Knight, "Labors thrive among minority, ethnic groups in many areas," *Church News*, 14 June 1980, p. 16.
43. Indeed it appears that President Spencer W. Kimball was alluding to the question of black Africans and their place within the Church when he addressed the opening general session of the South African area conference on 24 October 1978 in Johannesburg. Kimball told his audience that:
The works designs and progress of God cannot be frustrated, neither can they come of naught. He warned that the work of the Lord must go forward and those who fight against it "will find disillusionment and misery." See: Dell Van Orden, "Do not stifle work of the Lord, prophet tells so African LDS," *Church News*, 4 November 1978, p. 4.
44. Letter from Garth Mangum to Newell G. Bringham, 2 December 1980.
45. Letter from William F. Lye to Newell G. Bringham, 2 December 1980 (original in possession of author). However, Lye's observations concerning the reluctance of South African blacks contrasts with the observations of Garth Mangum who claims that the blacks there are "eager" to join. See Letter from Garth Mangum to Newell G. Bringham, 2 December 1980.
46. These beliefs not only include those mentioned above but also an emphasis on the importance of lay-participation in sacred rituals. A number of books have dealt with the beliefs and practices of these indigenous and Independent Christian sects and denominations. The most noteworthy works are Geoffrey Parrinder, *West African Religion* (London, Second ed., 1961); John S. Mbiti, *African Religions & Philosophy* (London, 1969); T. Beetham, *Christianity and the New African* (New York, 1967); Aylward Shorter, *African Culture and the Christian Church* (London, 1973); David B. Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa* (Nairobi, Kenya, 1968); Victor E.H. Hayward, ed., *Africa Independent Church Movements* (London, 1963); Noel Q. King, *Religions of Africa* (New York, 1970). It is interesting to note that Nigeria and Ghana are experiencing many of the same socio-economic changes evident in America during the early nineteenth century when Mormonism emerged. A variety of religious denominations and sects exist and two nations, like America during the Jacksonian period, are currently experiencing profound economic transformation.
47. This is a problem noted by various individuals in terms of both modes of worship and beliefs. See Janet Bringham, "Nigeria and Ghana," p. 73, and Gerry Avant, "Nigerian members share testimonies, grow in knowledge," and Garth N. Jones, "Expanding LDS Church Abroad: Old Realities Compounded," *Dialogue* 13 (Spring 1980): 12.
48. Anthony Uzodimma Obinna, "Voice from Nigeria," *The Ensign* (December 1980): 29-30; Gerry Avant, "Nigerian members share testimonies, grow in knowledge"; Spencer J. Palmer, "Mormonism in West Africa: New Terrain for the Sesquicentennial Church," pp. 4-7.
49. Letter from Garth Mangum to Newell G. Bringham, 2 December 1980.
50. According to letter from Joseph Calabrese to Newell G. Bringham, 24 November 1980 (copy in possession of author).
51. These are the Reorganized Church's figures as of 1978. See *Saints Herald*, August 1978, pp. 6, 12.
52. Along this line, Garth L. Mangum seemed to question the long-term allegiance or affinity of those Africans joining the Church. He suggests that "they may be another set of Maoris, easy to convert but hard to stabilize." Garth L. Mangum to Newell G. Bringham, 2 December 1980.
53. Spencer W. Kimball, "The Uttermost Parts of the Earth," p. 7.
54. Some of these questions are perceptively outlined by Garth N. Jones, "Expanding LDS Church Abroad: Old Realities Compounded."
55. For two accounts describing the process and problems of universalizing Mormonism see Spencer J. Palmer, *The Expanding Church* (Salt Lake City, 1978) and Sterling M. McMurrin, "Problems in Universalizing Mormonism" *Sunstone* 4 (October-December 1979): 9-17.

CLINICAL NOTES

ON THE R.M.

Tim Torkildson



THE IMPULSE that propels a returned missionary (RM) to make a fool of himself with women is of mysterious origin. Doubtless, Hugh Nibley could solve the mystery in a moment; but he is busy explaining Egyptian graffiti. It seems quite likely, however, that the initial impetus can be traced back to the Understanding

TIM TORKILDSON hails from Minneapolis. After a thoroughly middle-class childhood and adolescence, he kicked over the traces and joined Ringling Bros., Barnum & Bailey Circus as a clown. After several years traveling with the circus, and a brief jaunt to Mexico to study pantomime, Tim served a mission in Thailand, from 1975-1977. Upon his return, he again joined up with the Big Top, but unfortunately had an argument with Michu the Midget, billed as the Worlds Smallest Man. Tim had the great satisfaction of shoving the Worlds Smallest Man into

(always capitalized) most missionaries in the field have with some sweet young thing (SYT) back home. The SYT unfortunately understands the Understanding somewhat differently than the missionary. While the missionary is either frying in the tropics or freezing in some arctic region, constantly urged on by a dog-eared photo of him-

a nearby wardrobe trunk. Circus management took a dim view of this, however, and Tim found himself free to pursue another profession. He chose the field of broadcasting, and currently is employed by KBTO radio, in Bottineau, North Dakota, as their news director.

Tim has authored several plays, dozens of short stories and poems, and one novel. This is his first piece to see the light of day. If he doesn't get a raise soon, he'll probably write some more. (*Editors' Note: How does one shorten such a bio?*)

self and the SYT, the SYT finds herself widowed at an inconvenient age and does not long remain deaf to the entreaties of other men (usually RMs).

The upshot of all this is that the poor fool (PF) out in the mission field receives a wedding announcement one day, on expensive cream-colored paper, telling him that his Understanding has been misunderstood. Moreover, the SYT artlessly scrawls on the announcement that the PF needn't feel bad about not sending a present—Mr. SYT's daddy is loaded. His final slap in the face occurs a year later when Mrs. SYT writes to the PF, still toiling away in distant regions, saying that they are going to name their first child after him. (Bishops know that this is the self-sacrificing stuff of which Relief Society presidents are made.)

He starts lifting weights and attending social events where he giggles witlessly when he spots a former mission companion with his wife.

The foolish compulsion toward the opposite sex blossoms when the dupe returns home as the celebrated RM. After two long, dry years, he finds himself yearning for tieless companionship. He peruses the home ward and decides that unless he wants to marry for spirituality alone, he'd better check out the nearest University Ward. There, instinctively, the RM immediately begins looking for Miss Right. (If he happens to obtain an education at the same time, so much the better.) He flings himself on all available females with the wild abandon that drew praises from his mission president when he applied it to breaking tracting records.

In his mind, the RM begins to misperceive the merely polite response of female ward members and thinks himself irresistible. At this point, he feels obligated to formulate a systematic plan of action and draws up a document listing all the qualities he desires in his mate. Such documents are kept carefully hidden from the public view and are never openly discussed by the author, unless he is invited to address a fireside audience of over five hundred. The RM's list mandates that the longed-for mate be a superb cook, an excellent musician (i.e., she can play Primary tunes flawlessly on any piano), thrilled by the thought of babies by the dozen, able to stay thin even during pregnancy, and unable to utter a cross word. Most of these lists omit good looks—but that is only because the RM assumes that only diaphanous beauties will be coming his way.

While the RM is carefully matching his list with the women he dates, he undergoes an interesting transformation. Hair sprouts from every pore of his face and Levi's are worn like a second skin. Ties are almost uncompromisingly avoided, as are shirts of white or any other color found in nature.

The RM's dating patterns become predictable. His first date is with a cousin. This is to get into practice again. The second date is usually with a chance acquaintance in the University ward, arranged on the spur of the moment. The woman thinks it mundane, but the RM is convinced that a new Understanding has been reached.

For the next two weeks, he flushes in her presence, hums old Bread tunes incessantly, and sells his car to buy the rings. Upon discovering that his Understanding is the woman's Irritation, he goes into shock for at least 24 hours. When he recovers, he does not remember anything between the time he got off his mission and when he came out of shock. Only the fact that his car is missing makes him the slightest bit suspicious about the events in between.

The RM soon feels up to dating again. He has a short fling with an attractive, earthy woman who cooks only organic food. He gags down soy milk and nibbles on tofu-carob casserole before fleeing. After a large antidote of pizza, he generally runs into the female owner of an over-used Kodak Instamatic. She has slides of every single unimportant event in her life, from the Heritage Halls Preference Dance to her recent pilgrimage to New Jersey, where her ancestors once farmed. The RM endures several thousand of her photos before he comes to his senses. He then hides in someone's attic for a month, giving out the news that he has perished at sea, or is waiting for a lady missionary. He emerges from his enforced imprisonment a sadder, but wiser, fellow.

This is usually when he falls in love with someone he home teaches. Though love may be the by-product, home teaching in a student ward is designed to provide RMs with physical exercise. Called upon at least once a week to move yet another female home teacher out of one apartment into another, the RM strains every muscle while cramming the home teacher's solid mahogany dresser into his compact car. While recuperating from backstrain, this helpful RM realizes that he is deeply in love with the home teacher. Not puppy-love, like the previous affairs, but the Real Thing.

The Real Thing lasts exactly one date—during which the female home teacher burns dinner, has an embarrassing fight with her latest set of roomies, and spends the rest of the evening sporting a broad grin which does anything but hide the bright green pieces of broccoli casserole lodged between her bicuspid and incisors.

Doubtless, Hugh Nibley could solve the mystery in a moment; but he is busy explaining Egyptian graffiti.

Unless the real Real Thing happens at this crucial time, the returned missionary now desires nothing so much as a long bachelorhood. He starts lifting weights and attending social events with other RMs, where he giggles witlessly when he spots a former mission companion with his wife. This final stage lasts anywhere from a few months to several years, depending on the humidity. It is marked by vain attempts to avoid the judgmental gaze of a marriage-minded bishop and to cover a gradually receding hairline, thinning tresses flapped over his scalp from just above the left earlobe. Soon the RM abandons the University ward (except for an occasional visit to look over the new crop of Freshman co-eds) and joins the swelling ranks of Special Interests in the nearest Singles ward.

Here he takes root.

POLITICS OF EXTREMISM

I have seen more harm done in this world by those who tried to storm the bastions of society in the name of utopian beliefs, who were determined to achieve the elimination of all evil and the realization of the millenium within their own time, than by all the humble efforts of those who have tried to create a little order and civility and affection within their own intimate entourage. **George F. Kennan**

Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice. Moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue. **Barry Goldwater**

SOME ages are lukewarm and complacent, other ages, of which the present is one, are unbalanced and prone to faction," wrote C.S. Lewis, who certainly characterized the swings of contemporary society. The tactics and characteristics of extremists in these factious times—individuals most often united under such lofty banners as justice or human rights or religion—were examined April 2 at the third annual Campus-Community Forum sponsored by the University of Utah's Liberal Education Program, the Utah Endowment for the Humanities, and the Utah League of Women Voters. Featured speakers were sociology professor Ray R. Canning, Esther R. Landa, former president of the National Council of Jewish Women, and W. Cleon Skousen, founder of the Freeman Institute. Because extremism is pervasive, coming from all

quadrants of the spectrum, from the churches as well as the legislative chambers, SUNSTONE felt this exchange raised important issues which would interest our readers.

Dr. Canning provided a helpful framework for the discussion. Extremism is not synonymous with the radical right nor is it restricted to the political arena, he pointed out. The

The fanatic is a person of excessive zeal because he feels he is inspired by divinity.

primary question is not which person or group is too extreme but rather why fanatics arise and why certain of their tactics are frightening.

Canning cited a number of studies which have explored psychological factors as integral to any adequate explanation of extremism: Milton Rokeach (*The Open and Closed Mind*) created "Dogmatism and Opinionation Scales" to characterize "bigots who, by definition, are obstinately and often blindly devoted to their own opinions to the point of excessive actions against other people who do not share them." Gustavus Myers (*History of Bigotry in the United States*) chronicled the national persecution of "Quakers, Freethinkers, Jesuits, Masons, Jews, Blacks, Mormons, Evolutionists, and so-called 'Party-Liners'." Josef Rudin (*Fanaticism: A Psychological Analysis*) suggested that the "fanatic is a person of excessive

zeal because he feels he is inspired by divinity . . . the more intense one is, the less he is selective of ends and means." Eric Hoffer (*The True Believer*) explored the social contexts in which extremism arises. "When people are ripe for a mass movement any apparently effective one will do." Thus, the leadership which emerges is crucial; wise leaders can quiet fears while demagogues can fan the flames of reaction, playing on insecurity and buried anger. In fact, C.J. Jung taught that "fanaticism is the brother of doubt."

Canning then outlined the tactics often used by extremists—noting the paradox that "extremists who lean heavily toward absolutism in substance demonstrate startling relativity in their tactics":

1. Hiding behind fronts; taking on protective coloration, deceptive facades. Communist fronts project themselves as "peace lovers," "anti-imperialists," "seekers after social justice." The Far Right tries to establish its near-exclusive concern for strong families, the right to life, and patriotism proven through anti-Communism. Unfortunately, under these euphemistic covers, both have violated "truth in advertising."

2. Misusing the protections of a free society. Gus Hall, when Executive Secretary of the Communist Party USA, was asked by a reporter if he believed the Bill of Rights should cover the John Birch Society. He said, "No, the John Birch Society is out to destroy the Bill of Rights." And the editor of the Com-

We need to learn to live with some measure of ambiguity, doubt, brokenness, partial claims, and partial defeats and successes.

unist journal, *Political Affairs*, once admitted that he believed in free speech "for everyone except racists, fascists, and others with unscientific ideas." The Overstreets commented upon this example: "Coming from spokesmen for a Party that has destroyed civil liberties wherever it has seized power, while exploiting them everywhere else, such statements have a grisly humor."

3. Organizing discontent. Communistic disruption of the status quo is well documented. Not so well known are statements from Paul Weyrich, Director of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, who said, "We are different from previous generations of conservatives. We are no longer working to preserve the status quo. We are radicals, working to overturn the present power structure in this country." And I might add, parenthetically, "Succeeding at it." Howard Phillips, founder of the Conservative Caucus, said, recently, "We organize discontent. We must prove our ability to get revenge on people who go against us."

4. Misleading and oversimplifying. Scaring us with conspiracy theories which lead Smelser to identify the "if only" mentality. If only the world were converted to Communism (or some other ism) all would be well; but there are these evil people conspiring to keep it from happening.

5. Attacking, scapegoating, destroying those who differ. Destruction is the ultimate tactic, but it need not always be literal. Character assassination is an effective way to demonstrate that the end justifies the means.

Though such tactics may be effective in achieving goals, they undermine values at the very core of an open and democratic society. Canning presented these ideals which he thought to be at the heart of the human struggle—ideals threatened by overzealous partisans:

1. The diversity of human experiences and talents must find expression for there is strength for individual and society alike in pluralism, when differences are exchanged honestly, openly, and with dignity. I said openly and honestly, not covertly and not distorted through manipulation and propaganda. Honest interaction dignifies all parties.

2. This can happen only in an atmosphere of freedom with responsibility, responsibility which is increasingly self-imposed as we mature—as its reasonableness becomes understood.

Canning's conclusion (from Alan Crawford) that "what is at stake is nothing short of what kind of Democracy is to prevail in America" was echoed by Esther Landa in her more personal response to the topic, "If we can't preserve our pluralistic, democratic society here, there is no other place on earth where it can be preserved."

LANDA identified the "alliance of evangelical religious leaders with the far right" as the extreme faction she most fears. "The danger of the religious new right is not that they are speaking out on political issues, which is their right, if not their obligation," she explained. "It is the way they attack the integrity and character of anyone who does not stand with them." The "Litmus Test" approach to politics results—specified and absolutist positions are prescribed on many key political, social, and moral issues. "You're either for us or 'agin us.' God help you if you're 'agin us,' because you are not just 'agin us,' but you are the incarnation of evil. If you have a different political idea, you are not just jousting in the marketplace of ideas, but you are consigned to the nether regions." Civility under these circumstances has gone out of the political process, she lamented. Labeled a baby-killer and rooted on the outside of attempts to "Christianize" the nation, she echoed the plea of Al Vorspan of the Union of

Extremists who lean heavily toward absolutism in substance demonstrate startling relativity in their tactics.

American Hebrew Congregations for the survival of pluralism: "The issue is not church-state separation; it is the survival of a pluralistic society in the face of the simplistic notion that only one brand of politics is acceptable to God. The issue is not liberalism vs. conservatism. It's a viable American pluralism vs. a new form of political cannibalism, in which the exacerbation of one issue, sectarian absolutism, threatens to tear apart the fabric of the political order."

She also quoted Martin E. Marty, Professor of Church History at University of Chicago Divinity School: "We need to learn to live with some measure of ambiguity, doubt, brokenness, partial claims, and partial defeats and partial successes . . . That's politics, an art designed to minimize the inevitable violence that threatens human relations because societies are made of competing individuals and interest groups. You

The danger of the religious new right is the way they attack the integrity and character of anyone who does not stand with them.

win some, you lose some." According to Marty, these new militants "are met best by listeners, by understanders of their grievances, by people who try to draw them from ideology into the zone of political give and take. . . ." This give and take characterizes the center, said Landa.

WCLEON SKOUSEN also discussed the virtues of the "balanced center," which he defined as government perfectly poised between the extremes of anarchy and political oppression. The Founding Fathers firmly planted the "American Eagle" of government in the center of the spectrum, he explained. But recent developments have forced government far to the left towards tyranny or "ruler's law." Federal Government, "in direct violation of the Tenth Amendment" and the Founding Fathers' original formula, has penetrated forbidden areas: land, schools, air, water, energy, health, welfare, labor-management problems, intra-state commerce, industrial production, city finances, city beautification, sewage disposal, electric power, thermal power, police problems. The United States, he explained, is suffering from "a deteriorating money system, a frightening rate of inflation, a monumental national debt of a trillion dollars (more than all other nations of the world combined!), a crushing burden of taxes, a tidal wave of Federal regulatory agencies, a deteriorating national morality, a shattering of traditional family life, the abandonment of many important Constitutional principles, a serious invasion of traditional states' rights." The recent Republican landslide was simply a move back toward the center.

All three participants had thus placed their views of the world at the center of the spectrum. Audience reaction during the question and answer period only underscored the fact that no consensus exists on who or what is extreme and what kinds of tactics might endanger the fabric of society. Many questioners merely made rhetorical queries—veiled or unveiled statements to support or attack one or more of the participants. Though a resolution of conflict remained illusory, however, it is clear that the exchanges of that evening probed a raw nerve ending on our collective psyche.

To a Mother in Zion

Baby fed;
He slobbers the universal
Spittle of a sad decay.
Tended in a stranger's house
By the broken edges of a
Breck beautician's cup,
Our little president
Contemplates the future rise in
Coffee commodities,
And wonders at such
Marvelous news.

Roger Kent Petersen

Temperate

She watches the man's closed eyes:
how night falls
augurs next weather;

Lies awake on her plain,
a booming, open place
he marked with posts and wells,
saplings into the wind.
And now he rests.

Day by day she tends:
weeding sunlight,
rotating the cellar
like a slow clock
still on last summer and
a new crop in;

Stitches the red sky
with a compass needle
darning stars
against the storm.

He turns to sleep
like a boulder rolled
from a field
and she'll be up in time
to set the dial and vane.

Alison Booth

Group Session

An hour and a half,
the conversation wooden, constrained,
I did not find my others there.

I might have been

someone else's chiseled notes
struck, passing, to request its shape
of an unresolving stone;
at the end I walked away.

I walked downhill. Obligated,
I bought my food prepared, and then
scion of a family old as man
I eat this food in hunger,
but without the appetite for it.

Stephen Gould

The Covenant

"I will liken thee, O house of Israel
unto a tame olive tree."
Jacob 5:3

this tree—
the olive—
well-beloved of the lord
of the vineyard,
nourished through millenia—
pruned, dug about, dinged—
ancient, endless, promised.

gnarled and scarred.

the knotted trunk decayed,
hollowed to the heart.

strung to life by
rings of living wood,
thin and few,
wrenching moisture up
to toughened branches.
silver-grey with leaves of
life. everlasting life.

Susan Howe

HOW STRAIT THE GATE,
HOW NARROW THE WAY?

The Institutional Church and the Individual...

Necessary, though uneasy, alliances exist between institutions and individuals. The underlying tension is fundamental:

A central purpose of mortality is to allow individual growth through the exercise of free agency. A central purpose of institutions generally is to maintain themselves with a minimum of disorder. Individual free agency, in its purest form, implies the existence of unlimited choice. Institutions, on the other hand, require a certain level of conformity in order to preserve their identity.

With this introduction, the B.H. Roberts Society, an independent group devoted to "examining and discussing all aspects of the Restored Gospel as they relate to contemporary society," announced a series of lectures to explore the benefits and costs of sustaining the relationship between the institutional church and the individual.

The first lecture was delivered on 12 March 1981 by J. Bonner Ritchie of the Organizational Behavior Department at Brigham Young University. He in effect set the stage for future discussions by outlining some of the inevitable strains which exist, some of the potentially dysfunctional ways that individuals and organizations may face off. Professor Ritchie's presentation was informal, lively, personal—and timely. His long-time associate Carl Hawkins of the BYU Law School responded by relating Church experiences the two had shared. Judge Christine Durham moderated the question and answer period which followed. We wanted to preserve the tone of the evening as much as possible; the transcript has been edited somewhat but not, we hope, significantly altered.

Future lectures in the series will cover such related topics as women and the Church and the responsibility of the individual in church affairs. The second lecture entitled "The Church in Politics?" was held 28 May 1981. Edwin Brown Firmage, Professor of Law at the University of Utah, and J.D. Williams, Professor of Political Science at the University of Utah, addressed the following questions: Should the LDS Church involve itself in politics? If so, what is the process by which its positions are formulated? What are the parameters of its political involvement, and what are the consequences with regard to the attitudes and actions of both dissenting and conforming members?

J. BONNER RITCHIE

TWENTY years ago I was serving in Germany as a young second lieutenant in the Army. In the middle of the night, as often happened, I received a telephone call to go pick up a couple of soldiers in my platoon who were drunk and in trouble. One of them had been hit by a train, and the other was not terribly rational. As I took them back to the dispensary, I was intrigued and frightened by the comment of the uninjured one, "He's probably better off dead than being a soldier in the Fiftieth Ordnance Company." As a new platoon leader in that organization, I wondered what my role was going to be. How could I cope with that environment? How could I change that attitude? I think I can trace my beginning as a behavioral scientist to the reflections of that night. I began the process of making a long-term professional commitment—it has been reinforced over the years by many other events, some humorous and some more poignant—that I was going to dedicate my life to trying to *help people protect themselves from organizational abuse*. I didn't know exactly how I was going to do it, what academic or professional route to follow. Besides I had another three years' commitment to the Army, plenty of time to formulate career goals.

Another military experience: One morning, I told a young private what to do, and he said, "Hell no, Lt. Ritchie. I'm not going to do that." I started thinking about organizations a little further. Now I was really wondering. I had a piece of paper signed by Dwight Eisenhower saying that I was an officer and that people would do what I said. A few did, and I thought it was magic and everybody would obey. Then one day an individual did not.

I didn't know quite what I was going to do when I got out of the Army, but I ended up back in graduate school at Berkeley during the 1960s, trying to understand what universities were doing to students and what students were doing to universities. As chairman of a doctoral student organization at Berkeley during the Free Speech Movement, I had an interesting perspective on what people sometimes force organizations to do to them. Then I was caught up in civil rights activities. Driving between West Point and Tupulo, Mississippi, one day with a group of black people who were trying to organize a catfish farm, we were trailed by a pickup truck with no license plate. The person sitting in the right hand seat had a shot gun that he began firing. I was reminded that organizations like the KKK sometimes provide an excuse for people to behave in ways that they might not behave in full public review. With those shots ringing out, I started to think about how you help a group of black farmers trying to make a living, but receiving only a third the return of white farmers producing the same product.

I would like to suggest one more explanation for my perspectives—the family I grew up in. I distinctly recall the night when I was a young teenager that my mother either kept me up or stayed up with me—I'm not sure which—most of the night, debating whether or not God's omniscience, foreknowledge, and perfect information took away individual freedom. I can remember

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that debate vividly. It started about eight o'clock at night. I remember the defiant stand I took. As my mother went through a series of arguments, I think she felt that she was teaching me a very final truth. What she was in fact doing was teaching me a process in which questioning is important, in which debate is useful and fun. A process in which having a different opinion is not a reason to reject but a reason to discuss. A process that demands rigor, that demands inquiry, that makes one uncomfortable with anything but carefully developed, even if sometimes defiant and rebellious, positions on any series of issues.

My father, on the other hand, was a very peaceful, easy-going, pleasant individual. I recall his behavior as a priesthood quorum advisor, where he put incredible effort into loving and helping people. He did not flaunt or neglect organizational procedures but rather placed in a secondary position sanctions, policies, and tenets of a theological system in favor of loving a group of boys, of which I was one. I have observed my dad as a bishop, a stake president, and in a temple presidency, but never have I learned a more important lesson than when I saw him make people more important than organizations as my deacon's quorum advisor.

From that background I arrived at a crusade of great importance to me. While I do not feel that we can make organizations safe for people, I think we can help people protect themselves from organizational abuse. By doing

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so, we can free people to develop their creative potential using the organization as a resource, rather than as a limiting force. I would hope that we can make our organizations (especially the Church) more effective tools for noble purposes. This is especially important in a contemporary world where we so often see a dichotomy between a self-indulgent narcissistic approach to organizations, on the one hand, and the noble dream of the idealist on the other. The individual and the organization are not inevitably pitted against each other, but there is always the high probability of a negative effect which must be guarded against. It is the latter point I would like to explore further.

If I were a better behavioral scientist, I would give a talk tonight on the messages I have received from all those who knew I was speaking. I've had enough prescriptions about what I should do that if I followed my normal pattern, which is to resist all such advice, there would be nothing left to say. I would have been preempted by people who told me that I should give a very careful and rigorous theological talk, because some are a little suspicious of my theological interpretations. There were those who told me that I should give a very professional organizational theory talk in order to establish academic credibility. There were others who told me I should provide a historical trace of individual-church conflicts. Others told me that I should deal with purely contem-

porary conflicts in the institutional-individual battleground. Some said that my only purpose should be to suggest a set of practical future strategies. It is interesting to compare those who said that I should present an objective, detached, academic value point of view, and others who said that I should relate my own personal feelings.

As I look at such prescriptions, I wonder what they say about all of us and our agendas? What do they say about our pain or frustration with organizations? What about the attempt to skirt the issues by virtue of academic niceties? And, what about the demand to take on the issues with a gut-level confrontation? What is the process within each of us? Can we back off and identify those forces within us that make us so self-righteous in our apology for the organization or so defensive in our attack on it, so protective of individual prerogatives in light of organization encroachment or so defensive in terms of the right of the organization to dictate?

These ought to be some of the questions generated for each of us. What are our motives as we defend or attack a point of view in the individual-organization interface? Tonight I would like to suggest a series of issues over which this interface can lead to serious dysfunctions for either the individual or the organization.

The first issue is the concept of responsibility. We sometimes use the organization as a default mechanism, absolving us of the responsibility of making moral

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Security religion builds an ecclesiastical wall which protects from the onslaught of questions and doubts and decisions.

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choices. The organization becomes the repository of virtue or the repository of responsibility. One of the biggest "cop-outs" you can hear in any organizational context and especially in Mormon culture is the statement that "I will do what I am told and if it's wrong, the person who told me must bear the responsibility." I am justified because I am obedient. If I am told to do something that turns out to be evil or inefficient or unproductive, my loyalty to the organization somehow absolves me of responsibility for the results of that choice.

I am very troubled when someone says you will not be held responsible because you are obeying legitimate authority or usurped authority. The degree of responsibility can, of course, be qualified in contexts such as war, limited information, constrained resources, or lack of ability. However, we still should be aware that while organizational loyalty can and should be a very positive force, it can turn into one of the most insidious forces in any social system when it binds the hands or the mind. It becomes a force which victimizes the individual, who feels freed from the burden of moral choice. And I know of nothing in political, ecclesiastical, social, athletic, academic, or military history which justifies that kind of philosophy of organizations. We cannot allow the dictates of anyone to relieve the burden, pain, or growth that goes with individual responsibility. A quote from John Taylor expresses the points succinctly:

"I was not born a slave! I cannot, will not be a slave. I would not

be slave to God! . . . I'd go at His behest; but would not be His slave. I'd rather be extinct than be a slave. His friend I feel I am, and He is mine:—a slave! The manacles would pierce my very bones—the clanking chains would grate upon my soul—a poor, lost, servile, crawling wretch to lick the dust and fawn and smile upon the thing who gave the lash! Myself—perchance my wives, my children to dig the mud, to mould and tell the tale of brick and furnish our own straw! * * * But stop! I'm God's free man: I will not, cannot be a slave! Living, I'll be free here, or free in life above—free with the Gods, for they are free: . . . (B. H. Roberts, *Life of John Taylor*, p. 424.)

This condition is expressed by Sartre: we are condemned to choose. We are condemned to be free in the sense that there is always a final choice that none of us can defer to anyone else.

If we do not abrogate our choices to leaders, what part should religion play in our lives? Gordon Allport* described religion in terms of intrinsic and extrinsic criteria—the growth and security functions. Security religion provides refuge. It builds an ecclesiastical wall which protects from the onslaught of questions and doubts and decisions. Growth religion, on the other hand, forces its adherents to grow, to accept responsibility, to assume the burden of proof, to move beyond extrinsic constraints. Growth religion provides not a wall but stepping stones to climb for the purpose of understanding, analyzing, serving, and making choices. We all seek the safe harbor at times. We need to be protected, to rest so we can go back for the battle. Security needn't be an inhibiting force; it can and should be positive. Whether it is or not depends more on how the member responds to the system than how the system makes demands on the member.

One of my favorite talks (to a ward with a 3 o'clock sacrament meeting) begins with the question, "Where are you supposed to be at 3 o'clock on Sunday afternoon?" And the usual answer is "Well, you're supposed to be at sacrament meeting." While that is not the worst answer, my answer is a little more qualified. Yes, you're supposed to be in sacrament meeting, *if you have nothing better to do*. Be careful what you regard as something better, but if you *never* have anything better to do, you may not be thinking. And if you never have anything better to do, you are not accepting the responsibility of choosing to go for a good reason. If the only reason you go is that sacrament meeting is happening every Sunday afternoon at that time, I would argue that you have defaulted in your responsibility. I remember one particular afternoon when I was a new bishop, and I had gone to the ward a half hour before sacrament meeting. The new elders quorum president was there. A call came from the wife of a California man who was in the University hospital with a rare blood condition. She asked if someone would come see him. I approached the elders quorum president, "There is a man at the hospital who is very ill. Would you go visit him?" He said, "Sure, I'll go this evening." I said, "No, maybe you'd better go right now." He said, "You mean you're asking me to miss sacrament meeting to go to the hospital?" I said, "Forget it; I'll go to the hospital. You conduct sacrament meeting." And I left. The sacrament meeting got conducted; I'm not sure by whom. I really wasn't terribly concerned about it. I remember the next Sunday comments were made about passing a bleeding, starving, hungry person to get to the synagogue to learn how to care for your fellow men.

Where should you be on Sunday afternoon? If you never had a sick person, someone in need, a priority above and beyond institutional constraints, then you could be defaulting your responsibilities.

Sometimes we look at moral choices just in terms of choosing between good and evil. While these are important decisions, I think that the higher moral responsibility comes not in choosing between good and evil, but in choosing between two goods. The essence of the issue comes in the process of *making* the choice, not simply in the external criterion measurement applied to the choice made. Some of the most difficult decisions I have had to make have been between spending time with a twelve year old boy or a seventeen year old girl.

I remember a program for a group of explorers years ago. We were trying to help them understand the organization of the Church and the role of the bishop. So we decided to have them role play the bishop's job. We took the situations right off my bulletin board. The bishop comes home on Friday; a week long vacation is planned with his family—time the family really needs away together. There have been several telephone calls for the bishop during the afternoon. Someone has broken into the Church and defaced a sacred picture. Someone else put a hose in the basement and flooded the church; the floor of the recreation hall is buckling. A teenage girl is pregnant, needs counseling, and, subsequently, a marriage ceremony. The death of an older person has occurred, and of course, the family wants the bishop to conduct the funeral the following Tuesday. The local Unitarian church calls to ask the Mormon bishop to speak about Mormonism at their church the next Thursday night. The Relief Society president reports that a person who has been receiving fast offering funds is using them to buy beer. Anyway, a typical week—items which demand the attention of the bishop. The situation was set up to provoke thought about the complications of the job. I remember that as we had these kids play out the role, to a person they said, "I'd cancel my vacation." I remember one young explorer looking at me and saying, "Well what would you do?" I said, "I'd go. I'd make at least one call to my first counselor; possibly three: to a counselor, the elders quorum president, and the Relief Society president." I remember that this nice-looking, humble, boy looked up at me and said, "Boy, I'm glad you're not my bishop." We do live in a world of multiple expectations.

The issue is whether or not we personally default on our responsibilities and instead allow systems or unanalyzed perceptions to dictate behavior. Then we become pawns in somebody else's chess game with a high probability of resentment. The willingness to make the choice—between a hospitalized seventy year old widow who needs visiting, a seventeen year old girl who needs to talk, or a twelve year old boy who doesn't want you to say you love him, he wants you to play football with him (borrowing Marvin Ashton's poignant metaphor). These are choices between good alternatives. We can't do them all at the same time—and often not even sequentially. That's where growth comes and that is an opportunity of the Church: teaching us to make those choices, reasonably, rationally, intelligently, compassionately and to ac-

cept the responsibility for acting.

Another issue is the expectation for individual intellectual resolution. In Mark Leone's interesting book, *Roots of Modern Mormonism* (Harvard University Press, 1979), he gives a convincing, if in my mind not altogether accurate, perspective on the dilemmas of Mormon theology and Mormon behavior. He says that one of the strengths *and* weaknesses of Mormonism is the process by which it transfers to the individual the burden of intellectual reconciliation: we are told not so much what to believe in detailed theological terms, but rather that we should all be in harmony and that it is up to each individual to get there through prayer or study. We assume that there is an integrated system which encompasses theology, politics, economics, interpersonal relations, and athletics (from listening to some students and alumni, BYU football is a part of the system). Any time individuals fall short of this synthesized, integrated philosophical system, it is their fault. When things do not fit, there is something wrong. We demand answers *and* agreement. This is a difficult issue in the individual-organization relationship.

Another aspect of this problem comes as we carry the same logic into other dimensions of life: What if we all don't come up with the same recommendation on a political candidate? Or, if we don't come up with the same criterion for when it ought to rain? This drive for

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consensus can come from either the top or from the bottom of the organization. I was intrigued going through my random files (those are the only kind I have really found worthwhile) by a quote from an old Church priesthood bulletin (July, 1970). Listen to the following statement by the First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve on women's and girls' dress:

The Church has not attempted to indicate just how long women's or girls' dresses should be nor whether they should wear pant suits or other types of clothing. We have always counseled our members to be modest in their dress, maintaining such standards in connection therewith as would not be embarrassing to themselves and to their relatives, friends, and associates.

We have advised our people that when going to the temple they should not wear slacks, or mini-skirts, nor otherwise dress immodestly. We have not, however, felt it wise or necessary to give instructions on this subject relative to attendance at our church meetings, although we do feel that on such occasions they should have in mind that they are in the house of the Lord and should conduct themselves accordingly.

The fact that this institutional directive was, in some instances I am aware of, translated into a police-type situation with someone standing at the doors on Primary day keeping out little girls who were dressed in pants is one of the more insidious indications of the process by which a lower level organizational officer can generate a type of dominion.

I recall during the early 1970s when a young girl, who had been inactive in the Church, came into our ward-house wearing a mini-skirt and was quickly chastised by

an individual and instructed to go home. She left defiantly. We managed to reach another inactive girl in similar attire, before someone instructed her that she wasn't wanted. I performed a marriage for the first—a pregnant fifteen year old rejected by the Church because of noncompliance. I was pleased to receive a temple wedding announcement a few years ago from the second. She had not only worn a mini-skirt to Church, but it was reported she had smoked in the rest room. I remember the difficulty of convincing some of the parents of teenagers in the ward to love and help her for just a little while longer rather than judge and condemn.

Unfortunately, patience for the person who violates someone's organizational norm is not universal. In fact, there is a predictable tendency in organizations toward a conservative convergence. Picture this phenomenon as movement toward the point of a cone. Organizational membership carries with it a surrender of alternatives in many respects. I give up the choice of playing tennis and skiing every day from eight till five for some organizational benefits which are important. In the process I may resent what I have given up, and I may wonder if I haven't made a bad trade. So I try to justify my organizational involvement, especially if I happen to have a leadership position, by converging on rules, criteria, and procedures that demand compliance by myself and others in order to justify the fact that my position is im-

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portant and worthwhile. In making sure that other people benefit from my contribution, I may measure my success by the level of compliance of my organizational members and may even come up with rules to be used as tests even if they are not necessary.

In fact, we often think that we have to answer questions that may not even need to be asked. We go about creating the questions in order to make the answers fit—a contemporary critique of management (M.D. Cohen and J.Q. March, *Leadership and Ambiguity*, McGraw-Hill, 1974) says that managers are often solutions in search of problems. There is something very pernicious about convincing someone he or she has a problem in order to implement your solution. That kind of tactic is rampant in the world of high pressure sales, and it works in Mormon culture as well. We induce guilt by insisting that we have the only solutions to problems which the person may not know he or she has until we point them out. As Abraham Maslow said, "If the only tool you have is a hammer, then you treat everything as though it were a nail." If the only tool you have is one leadership process, you treat everything as though it ought to fit that model.

We need a type of dynamic tension to fight the conservative convergence in organizations. That's why we need those people who pull us out of the cone, though sometimes in unconventional ways. Students, feminists, racial minorities, and other "useful radicals" have thus helped us over the years. Otherwise, we move too far

down that cone. We get more and more control over less and less until finally we have perfect control over nothing. That is exactly the fate of most organizations. That is where systems find themselves as they attempt to run every aspect of the lives of people, as they attempt to dictate all policies, as they become weighted down by bureaucratic rules, with more and more tests of obedience, loyalty, and conformity.

Another quote. (This one may be apochryphal. I have not verified it. With George Burns, "I never let the truth get in the way of a good story.") In Samuel Taylor's *Nightfall at Nauvoo* (p. 163), the following incident is described. Someone asked Joseph Smith about the moon as he and Eliza Snow were going to a party. Were there people up there? Indeed, answered Joseph, and he proceeded to describe their dress, size, and age. After the party, Eliza asked Joseph how he knew so much about the moon and why he hadn't told the people about it before. He answered that he really had no idea about the moon. She should realize that a prophet always had to have an answer to every silly question. People do make some strange demands of prophets which create contradictory forces in the organizational process.

This respect for the person who is supposed to give the answers, who is in the position of authority, can be a stabilizing force, or can become a kind of adoration which is oppressive and frightening. This adoration from the bottom is poignantly referenced by Jerzy Kosinski in *The Painted Bird*. He describes the young Jewish vagabond struggling for survival in Poland, who encounters the Nazi officer:

Nonchalantly the officer approached me, beating a swagger stick against the seam of his freshly pressed breeches. The instant I saw him I could not tear my gaze from him. His entire person seemed to have something utterly superhuman about it. Against the background of bland colors he projected an unfadable blackness. In a world of men with harrowed faces, with smashed eyes, bloody, bruised and disfigured limbs, among the fetid, broken human bodies, of which I had already seen so many, he seemed an example of neat perfection that could not be sullied: the smooth, polished skin of his face, the bright golden hair showing under his peaked cap, his pure metal eyes. Every movement of his body seemed propelled by some tremendous internal force. The granite sound of his language was ideally suited to order the death of inferior, forlorn creatures. I was stung by a twinge of envy I had never experienced before, and I admired the glittering death's-head and crossbones that embellished his tall cap. I thought how good it would be to have such a gleaming and hairless skull instead of my Gypsy face which was so feared and disliked by decent people.

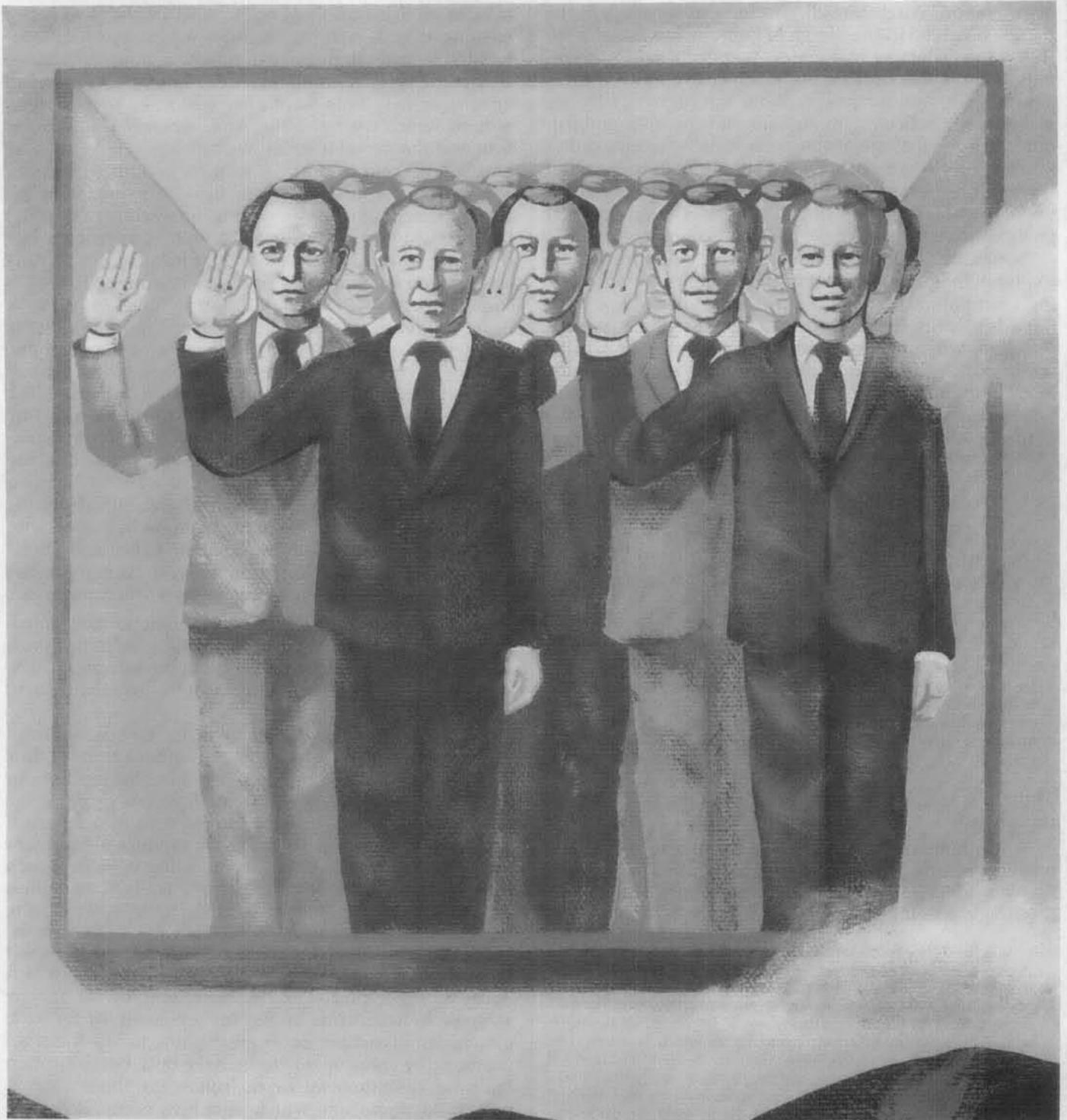
The officer surveyed me sharply. I felt like a squashed caterpillar oozing in the dust, a creature that could not harm anyone yet aroused loathing and disgust. In the presence of such a resplendent being, armed in all the symbols of might and majesty, I was genuinely ashamed of my appearance. I had nothing against his killing me. I gazed at the ornate clasp of his officer's belt that was exactly at the level of my eyes, and awaited his wise decision.

The courtyard was silent again. The soldiers stood about obediently waiting for what would happen next. I knew my fate was being decided in some manner, but it was a matter of indifference to me. I placed infinite confidence in the decision of the man facing me. I knew that he possessed powers unattainable for ordinary people.

Another quick command rang out. The officer strode off. A soldier shoved me roughly toward the gate. Regretting that the splendid spectacle was over, I walked slowly through the gate and fell straight into the plump arms of the priest, who was waiting outside. He looked even shabbier than before. His cassock was a miserable thing in comparison with the uniform adorned by the death's-head, crossbones, and lightning bolts.

As shown by this example, the *worship* of authority figures can put the individual in the ultimate subservient role. It doesn't matter if the person of authority is an officer, a church leader, an athlete, a teacher, or parent. Organizations are victimized from the bottom by people

Another issue involves the idea of goals. A cruel myth in the world of institutions is that organizations have goals. Organizations don't have goals. Whom do you ask about an organizational goal? People have goals for organizations, and people use the mechanism of organiza-



who do this. The Savior's response is instructive (Matthew 19:16-17), "And, behold, one came and said unto him, Good Master, what good thing shall I do, that I may have eternal life? And he said unto him, Why callest thou me good? there is none good but one, that is, God: but if thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments."

tional goals to achieve their own noble or selfish purposes. When we impute an anthropomorphic nature to the organization and give it the dignity of needs, motives, value systems, and goals, we corrupt the process by which individuals control organizations rather than are controlled by them. Organizations are the vehicles by

which we perform functions, but they don't have purposes.

A study done about the national foundation which sponsors the March of Dimes underscores this point. Why did the March of Dimes continue after the Salk vaccine eliminated polio and thus the espoused goal of the organization? After the Salk vaccine was developed, the people involved in the March of Dimes were asked what they were collecting money for. Some still said to eliminate polio. Others said it was for heart research; others cancer—all good purposes. What the March of Dimes was actually collecting money for was research on birth defects. But, all of the people collecting the money didn't know that. So the goals were "situational" in terms of continuing the organizational activities. The organizational members had developed a myth of organizational goals which seemed to have a life of its own.

Sometimes the goal becomes merely a way for people to justify their involvement or their actions. An interesting example of this is found in Kafka's novel *The Trial*. Guards making the arrest used a defense which presupposed that organizational decisions are based on worthwhile goals when K questioned them about the legitimacy of their action:

We are humble subordinates who can scarcely find our way through a legal document and have nothing to do with your case except to stand guard over you for ten hours a day and draw our pay

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for it. That's all we are, but we're quite capable of grasping the fact that the high authorities we serve, before they would order such an arrest as this, must be quite well informed about the reasons for the arrest and the person of the prisoner. There can be no mistake about that.

Thus, the assumption that goals exist helps to enforce compliance.

And compliance or discipline remains one of the basic underlying purposes of all organizations. In Herman Hesse's novel *Beneath the Wheel* the teacher explains his teaching role:

It is his duty and responsibility to control the raw energies and desires of his charges and replace them with calmer, more moderate ideals. What would many happy citizens and trustworthy officials have become but unruly, stormy innovators and dreamers of useless dreams, if not for the effort of their schools? In young beings there is something wild, ungovernable, uncultured which first has to be tamed. It is like a dangerous flame that has to be controlled or it will destroy. Natural man is unpredictable, opaque, dangerous, like a torrent cascading out of uncharted mountains. At the start, his soul is a jungle without paths or order. And, like a jungle, it must first be cleared and its growth thwarted. Thus it is the school's task to subdue and control man with force and make him a useful member of society, to kindle those qualities in him whose development will bring him to triumphant completion.

One way to conceptualize the role of the church or of Mormon society, of course, is as creator or reinforcer of

this discipline. Though discipline is often oppressive, it needn't be. The organization provides a vehicle for us to test ourselves and develop a disciplined identity—like the Indian tribe initiation which proves whether the person has the right to move through a transition phase based on some physical or mental feat which tests and proves abilities and strength. And in the process of creating that disciplined identity, we build a hard core within us rather than a marshmallow center which gives way to the pressures and forces of a random or contrived environment. This hard core becomes the nucleus around which we can orbit. And, when that nucleus is firm and the power is great, we can spin out a long way and still be held in orbit. A similar disciplined identity comes from running, from practice of a piano, from the academic rigor of reading, writing, analyzing, mastering; it allows us to rise above, not stay within, a set of criteria. If staying within a discipline is our final goal, we become an enslaved student. If rising above it is our goal, we become a scholar. Chaim Potok, in the novel *My Name is Asher Lev*, chronicles the young aspiring artist as he is struggling, confronting his Judaism and his aesthetic drives. The young man goes to his father, who chastizes and condemns him. His mother is afraid and cries. The rabbi tells him he may lose his soul to the goyim if he continues—he may surrender his salvation to the Christian god if he doesn't give up his driving force. But, the rabbi also puts him in touch with the best artist as a teacher. The artist also tells him he will surrender his faith, will lose his soul, he may no longer be a good Jew. But then he disciplines the young man to become a master artist. The rabbi warns him at every turn about the danger of losing his soul but pushes him to become great.

I think that is one of the important functions organizations perform. And it is hard to do without organizations, I believe. It is also hard to do without the university. The same force in the classroom that can destroy the student can also free him.

Back to Hesse's *Beneath the Wheel*. The schoolmaster says he prefers to have a couple of dumbheads in his class rather than a genius. In one sense, he reflects all of our fears. There is nothing so threatening to a professor as having a student who may be smarter than the professor. The teacher's task, after all, is not to produce extravagant intellects, but rather decent, conforming folk. Two such geniuses are described in the story. Their personalities develop partly because of, and partly in spite of, the sometimes arbitrary and useless discipline of the school. Ironically, once the students are dead and remote, their memories are paraded before other generations of students as show pieces and noble examples. Thus, the struggle between rule and spirit repeats itself for each generation. Teachers go to great pains to nip the truly profound or valuable intellects in the bud, but they often fail. And, then they reward the runaways, those they expelled. But some, and who knows how many, don't rise above. Rather they waste away and finally go under. Organizations do destroy. Is the price of one person's excellence someone else's destruction? Is the price of greatness the pain and discipline inflicted on the conforming masses out of which a few arise?

I recall a quote attributed by someone to Joseph Smith,

which I haven't verified, but which I like: "By contrariness is truth made manifest." By confronting the contradictory constraints of a system and pushing them to the limit, we develop the discipline and strength to function for ourselves. By confronting the process, by learning, by mastering, we rise above. By mastering the scales we can play the sonata, but we don't start there. By converging to the discipline of medical school, we can rise out to the freedom of diagnosis and care, but we don't start as a medical researcher. We start with discipline and the system. We must converge before we can diverge. We must converge to the discipline before we can diverge to the discretionary skill. And the organization, the church, is the means to do that. Unfortunately, many of us end up converged with the discipline as the end.

Our next challenge is to remain positive even after a long series of bureaucratic encounters. Picture a U-shaped curve. We begin at the top naive, trusting, pristine. Bureaucratic entanglements may disenchant, frustrate, aggravate, and lead us to believe that there is a malevolent force operating in this organization which wants to destroy us, to get us; we become paranoid. Or, we have a little learning, a little knowledge, a little truth—enough to want control but not enough to understand the dangers of control, enough to victimize but not enough to liberate. We are then sloshing at the bottom of the curve. And that is the worst place to be. It takes tremendous self-discipline to kick out of the trough of the curve and to rise beyond. To help people get out of the trough and up the other side of the curve is the challenge of my field, and a difficult one. We have a complex, cynical organizational society with a lot of people sloshing about in the bottom of the trough of bureaucratic encounters. We can no longer remain naive. We are all involved with organizations to such an extent that it is critical that we understand them. But, to rise above the trough takes study, patience, understanding, struggle, fighting, learning, praying, thinking, reading, talking, acting.

As previously discussed, the organizational process is by nature conservative. In fact, I would argue that a liberal organization is a contradiction in terms. Organizations, including the Church, must have liberal people to survive, but the organizational force is a conserving one. This seeming dilemma was discussed by Clark Kerr, President of the University of California. Responding to a critic who said we must eliminate all "evil" forces in the university, he stated that we can never make the university safe for students, we can only make the student safe for the university. You can not make any organization safe, you can only prepare people so they can safely function in the organization.

An important part of this issue is that a person must learn to deal with the power system of institutions. Power corrupts. Absolute power corrupts absolutely. My friend Carl Hawkins recently identified a scripture I had not been aware of which illuminates this point. Ecclesiastes 8:9: "And this have I seen, and applied my heart unto every work that is done under the sun: there is a time wherein one man ruleth over another to his own hurt." We must learn how to view ourselves or others performing the leader-role in a way which will minimize this potential problem. I like the concept of organization

that flips the organization chart upside down, that turns the pyramid with the leader at the top upside down and puts the leader at the bottom. Then the leader no longer simply pulls the strings in a puppet show but rather supports the organization by holding it up. Christ did not put himself at the pinnacle of the temple; he put himself at the cornerstone (or Paul put him there, Ephesians 2:20). The pinnacle is a trivial adornment at the top of a building. The leader really should be at the bottom helping to hold up the whole structure. The leader must support, train, generate resources, and help others gain freedom to perform useful functions.

Others in the organization can nudge the leader into this role. The dynamic tension of the system puts honesty constraints on the leader. Member involvement and responsibility can help to free the leader from the potential destructive forces in an organization.

It should be clear at this point that I feel there is no such thing as a perfect organization. The Church is a *means* for the development of people. One of the most indicting comments I have heard about the Church is that the two best organizations on earth are the Prussian army and the Mormon church. As a kid I used to cringe at that, but I didn't know why. Now I know why. Organizations can be strong and not good. Efficiency is a limited and

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God's children and God's church—the
fundamental tension between the exercise of
free agency and the demands of institutional
conformity.

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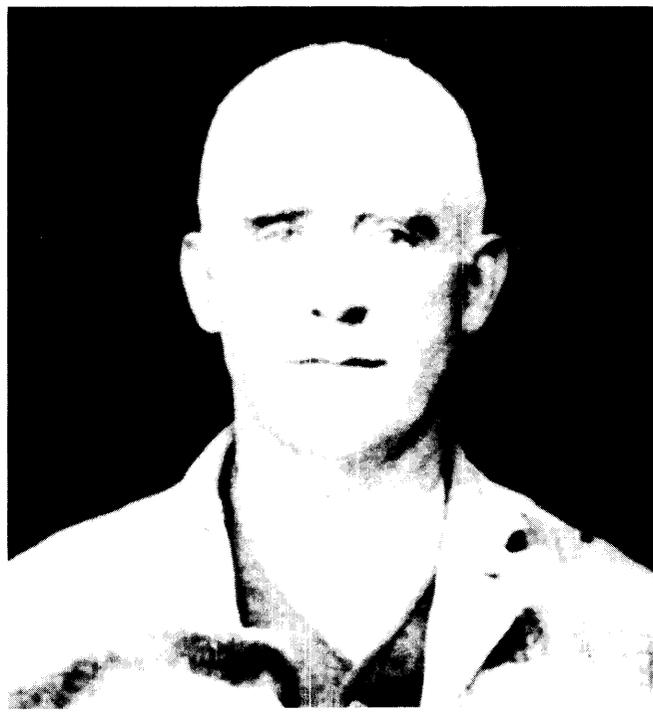
often bankrupt criterion. The Church was not made to be efficient; it was made to be a service vehicle. The two are not always compatible. Organizations are, therefore, only means, never ends. They must always be understood and adjusted to in the context of the people involved. Organizations are only mechanisms to enable people to facilitate growth, love, and service, to test, make mistakes, and rise above. What is a perfect organization? A system that allows opportunity for people to be free? That's not a perfect organization. That's people committed to the dignity of the individual, people creating organizational devices to facilitate the objective. Structures cannot be perfect. People can, ultimately, I hope. But in the meantime, the organization is a vehicle driven by imperfect people making mistakes.

I hope that we can find in organizations a positive force to teach, to experiment, to love, to serve, to grow, to develop, to enjoy, to laugh, to cry. May we prevent abuse of organizations. May we permit ourselves and others with whom we work over, under, and alongside to make institutions servants of the individual, to make sanctions testing grounds to rise above rather than be imprisoned by. In this difficult and exciting world, institutions can be instruments of good. But *we* must make this so.

*"Behavioral Science, Religion, and Mental Health," *Journal of Religion and Health*, 1963, Vol. 2.

FROM THE PEN OF A COHAB

Dale Z. Kirby



WHEN I first put my Stripes or Striped clothing on," wrote Thomas Wright Kirby from the Utah Territorial Penitentiary in 1887, "I felt proud that I was counted worthy to be imprisoned and scoffed at for the gospel's sake." Kirby was only one of many Mormons imprisoned under the provisions of the anti-polygamy Edmunds Act of 1882. But Kirby's experiences have been preserved in unique detail because he kept a journal during his six-month stay—a journal which was hidden in a load of hay and smuggled from the prison shortly before his release. The story from the pen of this one "cohab" can perhaps provide a window into the experiences of many others.

Kirby joined the Church in England in 1852, served a mission there, and eventually followed his fiancée Ann Stokes to Utah where they were married in 1863. Within five years he had also married Ann's two half sisters, Amelia and Elizabeth Irons. By 1880 the Kirbys and their seventeen children were living in Cache Valley, where Thomas had accepted the job of carrying the U.S. Mail the mile and a half from Hyde Park to the railroad. Kirby considered the job, which paid one hundred dollars a year, a "blessing from Providence."

As the efforts of federal marshals to arrest Mormons living in plural marriage increased (under the provisions of the Edmunds Act), Kirby realized his mail job was not without its risks. With the "unholy raid" in process, many men went into hiding to avoid being arrested. "But many were not in circumstances to be able to leave their family, and although we knew full well the danger we were in, we could not help ourselves but had to stand our grounds and take what might come," remembered Kirby.

Riding alone to the mail drop made Kirby especially vulnerable. The train whistled and then stopped only when passengers got on or off; otherwise Kirby just threw the mail into the open side door. Whenever he heard the whistle, he wondered if the arriving traveler would be a federal marshal, though he never confessed these concerns to his family. So when he heard the whistle on October 8, 1886, he exclaimed aloud, "I am caught." The mail sack was thrown from the train as usual, but as he loaded it onto his mare, a marshal jumped out and presented him the long-feared arrest warrant.

Riding on to Hyde Park to deliver the mail to the Post

DALE Z. KIRBY, director of the Klamath Falls Oregon Institute of Religion, received his MA in Christian History from BYU.

Office, the officer chatted pleasantly. His was "an unpleasant job at best," he confided, though he had to admit that "they pay well for it." He also told Kirby that "a spotter, a bitter apostate" had helped him. Against the marshal's wishes, Kirby shouted to several children they passed that he had been arrested. The children scattered to warn others. The two then continued into Logan and a hearing date was set six weeks hence.

Certain he would be convicted, Kirby prepared to leave his "dear wives and innocent children to go to prison for having obeyed the law [he] knew God had revealed." The family plowed frantically until snow and frost stopped them and they hauled wood out of the mountains. His wives made warm quilts, assembled his belongings, and packed them into two boxes with locks.

On January 7, 1887, Thomas Kirby rode one more time to the train. This time he kissed his family good-bye and climbed aboard himself, knowing that he would be gone for at least six months and perhaps eighteen since there were three counts charged against him. When he arrived in Ogden, he went to Church lawyer C. C. Richards who handled all plural marriage cases in Weber County. Following his advice, Kirby pleaded guilty, presenting the following statement to the judge:

Your honor, I married my second wife very near twenty years ago. She have had Children by me and I have Worked hard to support them. I married her with an honest heart knowing it to be the law of God to do so and I cannot now turn my back on her and her children. . . . I cannot turn traitor to my own flesh and blood, they are mine and I feel that I should be a villain indeed to now turn my back on them. I know what is before me and I will not forsake them.

The Judge replied that Kirby was not being punished for marrying his wives but rather for continuing to live with them. Stop that and he would not be punished. Kirby would not make such a promise and was fined \$100 and sentenced to six months in the Utah Penitentiary.

He and several others convicted of the same charges were then loaded onto the Railway and sent to Salt Lake City. They reached the prison which was located in the Sugarhouse area by midnight the same day. "When we entered! What a sight presented itself," he wrote,

All were in bed and no one was supposed to speak to us but the man—a prisoner—called the housekeeper, who was to show us where to sleep. But many of the men would speak in a whisper, and joke us, saying that they were glad to see us and that we had come among a hard lot, but when we returned the complement, they laughed and . . . guessed we were welcome to stay, it was a strange sight indeed to see so many men . . . all close shaven, and their Stripped Cloths hanging around from under their heads, serving as pillows, I soon found some brethren I knew.

Kirby slept little that night.

But he soon felt more relaxed as he learned the rules governing prison life. He had with him a combination knife and fork and five dollars. The prison accountant let him keep the knife, which had only one good blade, but took the money. As part of initiation, prisoners could "sing a song, dance a jig or make a speech"; Kirby sang "The Old, Old Home." The prison barber shaved the beards, mustaches, and hair of the new prisoners, a practice repeated weekly thereafter. They were issued their regulation striped clothing and locked in their assigned bunk houses by nine at night. Each prisoner could bathe once every two weeks.

KIRBY soon learned that correspondence was closely supervised. A prisoner could only write a single-page letter each Saturday and could not talk about religion nor could he write to a plural wife. Most got around this rule by addressing a "Loving Daughter." At one point Kirby refused to sign an agreement to let the prison warden open and read his mail. Regardless, the guards often read the prisoners' letters to make sure they followed the rules.

Even given these restrictions, letters were the central joy of prison life. "Received a letter from Ann, with a nice little sprig of Burgamont," wrote Kirby on one occasion, "and oh how nice and sweet it smells. God bless those kind hands that sent it. No one can appreciate such favors as can a poor prisoner." Another time he described two little picture cards and a piece of her new dress that his daughter had sent him for fun. "But poor little girl, she little think how long and with what interest Father sit and look upon such little trifles or how many times your letter is read and with interest every word is weighed."

Such letters reassured the men that all was well at home. "A most beautiful day," enthused Kirby after receiving a letter from his wife Ann describing a picnic at her home with the bishop, eighteen members of the Relief Society, and sister wife Lizza. "They had a good time talking and encouraging my family," he observed. "Tears of sympathy were dropped by all for me." He also noted that the Brethren put up his crops, brought material for dresses for each of his wives, and provided wood for the stoves in three Kirby households. In his journal he wrote detailed descriptions of the home he missed—family, farm animals, crops, and fruit on the trees. One night he dreamed that he and his families were moved to an ideal society.

Such visions of home life were especially prized because, though prison life was not cruel, it was uncomfortable and monotonous. Nearly two hundred men slept in three twenty by twenty foot bunkhouses, where beds were placed "one above another like shelves to a cupboard or as on the shipboard." Later a third tier of bunks was added. Kirby slept on the floor for several weeks until a prisoner was released. Even then he, like the others, shared his four-foot-six-inch-wide bunk with another man—and with the bedbugs. And poor Kirby's "bunky" was a snorer:

Oh My Goodness for a Snorer. I would back him against any two others I had ever heard. But a fellow can get used to almost anything. . . . I got so that if I could wake him up and get to sleep before he got started again I could sleep through almost any amount of noise.

ALAMP burned all night in each cell and a guard passed by every fifteen minutes. One of these guards told Kirby that despite such surveillance, he believed that there were at least a hundred men in the prison whom he would not be afraid to send to New York, for "if they told him they would be back on a certain day he knew they would be as good as their word." Kirby was especially fond of two guards who "are gentlemen in every sense of the word; very kind and Considerate to all, and there is not a man would see them come to any harm, and all try to do the best they can to show them respect."

Because of such friendly relationships, some prison-



ers were allowed to work on the prison farm, at times with no supervision. Work in general helped prisoners to pass the time. Each week they took all bedding and personal boxes outside and scrubbed the bunks with soap and water. In addition, seven men were chosen to sweep and clean the yard weekly. Actually this was sought-after duty:

I am on duty as yard police which mean sweeping the yard and carrying the dirt outside. I and Br. John Penman took the two wheel barrows and wheeled the dirt. It was quite a pleasure to see outside the walls. I saw horses and stock a short distance away. . . . The sight outside made me think of home. Still we were not allowed to put our wheel barrows down to take views but did so as we walked along. . . .

Prisoners also worked in the kitchen and dining hall, served the food, and washed the tin plates, cups, and spoons.

Unfortunately the food, though adequate, was as monotonous as the work schedule. The breakfast bell rang at seven each morning. The men then had one hour to wash and form two rows in the yard before they marched into the dining room. "Our food was bread and meat, Potatoes," wrote Kirby. "A coffee for breakfast (no

sugar) Bread and meat—always forequarters of the beef—and potatoes for dinner. And bread and tea for supper." The menu never varied. With so much bread, it is not surprising that the prisoners protested vociferously when it tasted bad. The angry baker walked out, and the prisoners took over the baking themselves—soon affirming by unanimous voice that they wished he had left sooner.

A prisoner with the required dollar per pint could purchase milk to go with the standard fare. Though Kirby could rarely afford such a luxury, he noted that he "did not take any harm for [want of] food." Prison rules did allow friends to supplement the menu. Butter, sugar, fresh fruit, and candy were allowed; molasses and fresh vegetables were not. Kirby's good friends, the Binders, brought him extras almost weekly. Each prisoner stored his personal food in a little cupboard in the dining room. Such food could be profitably bartered. Once Kirby noted that he had paid one pound of sugar, one orange, and one lemon to have a tooth extracted by a fellow prisoner, Dr. Rogers.

The Binder family also picked up Kirby's laundry each week since the prisoners' clothing had to be sent outside

It was very hard to see my plural families go one way and me another, hardly daring to speak to each other.

the prison to be washed. Sometimes they tucked such items as newly knit socks or a special hat for yard wear in with the returning bundle.

Others from outside the prison also visited. Members of the Salt Lake Choir came to entertain. They often brought flowers to decorate the dining hall where they gave concerts. Sometimes children came with them. "How I did want to take the little soul and others about the same age as my own and hug and kiss them," wrote the homesick Kirby, "but as prisoners we were not allowed to notice or speak to them."

THE cohabs organized several cultural and educational groups of their own. These prison groups sponsored such lectures as "The Great Pyramids of Egypt" by John Stoddard. Inmates also organized a Penitentiary Glee Club and an orchestra. Music, marching, and dancing helped pass the evening hours. One prisoner, whom Kirby described as a "chinaman," flew a strange-looking kite for amusement.

At first, the Mormons were not allowed to hold religious services. All their "prayers had to be strictly silent," Kirby noted, "but swearing could be indulged in to any extent and one could not move anywhere . . . but he could hear the name of God and the Savior blasphemed horribly." Other churches were allowed to hold services, however, and the Mission Association sponsored lectures in an attempt to reform the Latter-day Saints.

But most Mormon cohabs preferred to read their scriptures in private. Kirby spent many solitary hours in a sunny corner of the yard, book in hand, rocking in a chair brought from home. Shortly before Kirby's release, Mormon elders were finally allowed to preach in the prison. The Prison Choir often sang as many as ten numbers during these services.

Two events stood out for Kirby against the recurring pattern of prison life. Elder Lorenzo Snow, a member of the Council of the Twelve Apostles, was imprisoned with Kirby. "I met Lorenzo Snow in the yard today and told him I did not feel at all disgraced," wrote Kirby one evening. "He said, 'Why Brother Kirby you are highly honor'd and you will live to see that more than you can today, be of good cheer, all is well if we do our duty in the church and Kingdom of God.'" A few days later, the Supreme Court reversed its previous decision, and the Apostle was released:

I shall never forget seeing him leave the prison. There were many brethren on the wall who had come to meet him. "Lorenzo Snow" was shouted by the guard on the wall and when I saw Bro. Snow walk toward the big gate I said to myself, God bless you Bro. Snow, May you never come here again. Many had gathered in groups to say good-bye, but I could see his heart was too full to say much. . . . When he passed me as I stood alone he said "God bless you Brethren if I do not come back."

Later, Kirby's prison visage was immortalized when photographer C.R. Savage visited the penitentiary.

Hoping to be "conspicuous" in the long line of prisoners, Kirby took off his prison hat in one pose and, in a later shot in the dining hall, was the only one who left on his white apron.

Realizing that he would soon be released, Kirby hid his journal and autobiography in a load of hay he had helped harvest. When he delivered the hay to a nearby ranch, he asked the Crisman family to keep it until he was released. That day finally came on July 8, 1887. He packed up his bedding, boxes, and rocking chair and, for the first time in six months, dressed in his own clothes. His boxes were opened and searched. "Have [you] any writing in there?" he was asked. "Not a scratch of the pen, sir," he could truthfully reply.

Before he left, he was taken before the Prosecuting Attorney since his fine was still unpaid. Although he couldn't pay the fine, he was released anyway; he signaled this happy information to his fellow inmates, many of whom were facing similar fines.

FRIENDS and relatives met him as he drove a horse and buggy into Hyde Park the next afternoon. The reunion was bittersweet, however, because his wives and family were not there. If they met publicly, he could be arrested again. Luckily it was Sunday, and his wives and children, as well as most others from the village, were in church. Kirby slipped into his place in the choir, and his wife Amelia asked the leader to sing his favorite song. He addressed the meeting. After the closing prayer, he knew that many were watching to see how he would greet his plural wives. "I kissed them heartily not caring for what anybody thought," he wrote.

But he found that many things had changed. Amelia and Elizabeth had each rented separate houses. Bishop Daines and others from the branch had gone to Canada with Charles Card in order to avoid arrest. Saddened, he went home with Ann. "It was very hard to see my plural families go one way and me another. And hardly daring to speak to Each other." Though forced to visit his wives in secret, this proud man concluded his journal with the following declaration of conscience—one shared by many men who lived in fear but remained committed: "I did not feel to desert my families for Anything that might follow, nor did I. I felt I would live half my life in the Penetentary and the other with my family rather than leave them. As I felt they had been sealed to me and I had promised to be Husband to them and God being my help I intended to try and carry out that contract to the best of my ability and risk whatever might follow."

Note

All the material in this article comes from the handwritten Journal of Thomas Wright Kirby and from his handwritten Autobiography. Both of these documents, written during his imprisonment in the Utah Territorial Penitentiary, are in possession of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Historical Department, Salt Lake City, Utah. Original spelling is maintained in the quoted material.

DEEM

PAUL excused himself before dessert. "We'll wait for you," his wife said. Dave leaned back in his chair. He and Paul had just finished a thorough discussion of the election. "All the better," Dave said. "I've eaten enough that I won't be ready for dessert for a while anyway."

"You won't be long, will you honey?" Lois asked.

"I hope not." Paul tried to quench his secret pleasure that their old friends from the student ward were seeing this evidence of his position as bishop's counselor. Still, Dave and Alison had driven out from the city and Paul did regret missing part of their evening.

"Is it a meeting?" Dave asked. Dave still taught the elders' quorum.

Paul paused, his chair pushed back a few inches.

"No, not exactly. We've been having trouble with evil spirits in the ward. Different people have had problems."

Dave looked at him. "Is that right?" he said. He drained the ice water in his goblet.

Alison was staring, Paul noticed. He could see her back reflected in the picture window, a blur against the twinkling lights of the suburb. Her shoulders looked tense and she tilted her head to one side. "Evil spirits?" she asked as if Paul had just led a dinosaur into the dining room.

Paul nodded briefly. She caught his look and was silent.

"So this is a house call then," Dave said. Dave understood that there were things a man couldn't talk about in this position, especially in a mixed group. Of course Paul told Lois some things. But if word spread in the ward about a confidential situation, everyone knew that someone had talked too much to his wife. The bedroom leak, they called it. Well, he could tell them something.

"First we had a sister whose husband deserted her. He ran off with his dental assistant."

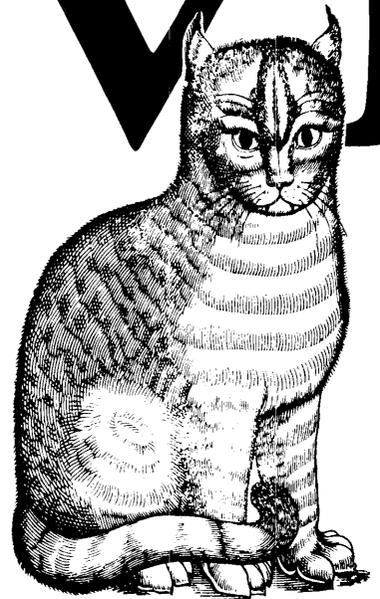
A slight gasp from Alison. Dave shook his head.

"Well, he just couldn't take it anymore," Paul said easily. "I guess the kids were always crying, you know. And his wife isn't the best housekeeper. I've seen that myself."

LINDA SILLITOE has published poems, investigative articles, reviews, and short stories. She is presently a reporter for the *Deseret News*.

This short story received honorable mention in the 1981 Sunstone Fiction Contest.

A Story by
Linda Sillitoe



"How old are the children?" asked Alison.

"Oh, small."

"Four-and-a-half, three, and eighteen months," Lois put in. "Not quite as close together as ours."

Lois had hired a babysitter to feed the children a picnic supper downstairs and then put them to bed. No one had heard a sound from them during dinner. The Blackmun's baby slept beside them in her carrier.

"But the evil spirits," Alison said. "What do you mean? Lights swinging, chair rocking, all that sort of thing?"

"No, no." Paul shook his head. He paused. "She just had dark, evil feelings. She seemed angry, even at us. We gave her a blessing."

He sighed and refolded his napkin, carefully matching the edges. "But now there's another one. A stake missionary who lives in our ward called me at work today and asked me to come over tonight. His wife's the same way, very depressed. And I think the bishop visited another sister night before last."

"Kurt is usually out teaching families on Friday night," Lois said softly. "He must be worried."

"He's gone a lot?" Alison asked. They all looked at her.

"You know," Dave said, "we had a fellow in our ward who skipped out on his family. I can't understand how a man can do that."

"This is the third one in our stake," said Paul, "but the first one in the ward. It's awful. Still you know there is always a reason for everything."

ONS

He glanced at Alison but she was quiet, leaning back in her chair.

"Well, we'll see you soon, honey," Lois said. She began to stack the plates.

But Paul wasn't quite ready to leave the table. He thought that Lois looked perfect tonight in her beige sweater and dark brown slacks. She had used a beige tablecloth and a small, low centerpiece made of weeds sprayed gold and dark brown pine cones. As she bent over the table to collect the plates, Paul thought she looked like a photograph in a magazine. He would remember to tell her privately that he liked the colors and the centerpiece. The truth was, he hated to leave.

"Well," he said, standing up. "See you all later." He put on his suit coat as he walked out the door.

THE night was crisp and the blue afternoon sky darkened to indigo without losing any of its clarity. Leaves skittered gently along the sidewalk. The streetlights drooped over the walks like the reading lamp by his chair in the den. He walked from one pool of light to the next, turning right at the corner. The Jacksons lived two blocks away.

Paul was glad for the dinner and the peaceful night walk. He hoped that this experience wouldn't be as depressing as the last one of its kind. He wanted to share his own well-being without absorbing gloom to take back with him. He knew he should stop talking about it. Confidentiality was part of the job.

When they visited Lynette Strauss last week, they found her huddled in an overstuffed chair, her feet pulled under her. Her eyes looked out like a cat's under a porch. Paul was shocked. He knew Lynette as a cheerful, athletic woman who swept good-naturedly from one activity to the next, her troop of children in tow.

The bishop leaned over her and reached for her hand. "Sister Strauss," he began.

She cried out and pulled her hand away from him. She sat on it. She didn't shake hands when they left, either, Paul remembered.

It was late afternoon and the room was dimming but it was still too early to turn on a lamp. The television in the next room blared cartoons but the kids stayed in the living room with their mother. The bishop's voice fell softly in the room. Paul talked too. Then suddenly a low movement caught the corner of his eye. He looked. A

yellow doll's dress lay crumpled on the carpet. He watched it for a moment. It moved again.

Paul looked at the bishop and then at Lynette. Neither noticed. The bishop was waiting for Lynette to answer a question and she was looking past him at her middle child who sat on the floor unlacing his shoes.

The doll dress moved another inch toward Paul. He rubbed his eyes a little, very discreetly. Then the little boy noticed.

"Samuel!" he yelled and bounded across the room. He threw the fabric into the air and scooped up a small green turtle.

"It's mine!" screamed the little girl. "I was hunting for it."

"Here, catch," her brother shouted and threw the turtle. Paul strained forward with his hand outstretched. The little girl lifted one hand and deflected the turtle into her lap. Lynette did not look at her.

"It's not a good idea to throw turtles," Paul said as conversationally as possible, setting back on the couch.

The children giggled into their hands. Their eyes rolled. Lynette ignored Paul's hand when they stood to say good-bye. He turned and read the framed mottos on the wall to cover the awkwardness. One said "Families are Forever" and the other said "Lengthen Your Stride." He began to nod approvingly, then winced. He felt Lynette's eyes on the back of his neck.

The bishop took his arm and they closed the door gently behind them. Before they reached the steps, there was a crash against the door behind them and noise like glass falling on tile. They glanced at each other and hurried to the car.

Paul shivered a little. He hadn't had time to run today. He would jog home as soon as he finished at the Jacksons', and maybe circle the block once or twice. The bishop let him worry about physical fitness for the ward. The bishop was overweight.

Paul had felt a touch of surprise when Mark Bradshaw was chosen bishop because the Church put such emphasis on health and fitness. He chided himself guiltily. The bishop was a gentle spiritual giant, he told himself. Paul knew he had to work on humility.

But maybe if these girls would get out and run every day it would be good for them. He and Lois read the scriptures first thing in the morning, and then she ran for

fifteen minutes while he showered. He would mention it to the Relief Society.

The Jacksons' yard looked a little unkempt. Kurt painted the house trim in the spring, but the edges of the grass fringed the sidewalks. The children's trikes lay on the lawn. Paul remembered that tomorrow he must prune the shrubs and check with Lois to see if she had ordered the seed catalogs for next year's gardens.

KURT opened the door as soon as Paul's finger touched the doorbell. "Thanks for coming. Come on in."

"Glad to do it. How are you, Kurt?"

"I'm fine." They walked into the living room. The room was light and cheerful, though not very tidy. A couple of used towels lay on the floor at Pam's feet and the newspapers were heaped untidily on the end table. Pam sat in a window seat, her face toward the glass. A baby cried monotonously in another room.

"Here, sit down," Kurt said. They both sat on the couch opposite Pam.

"Pam," Kurt said. She didn't seem to hear him.

Paul noticed that their window faced the dark mountains and didn't pick up the suburb lights the way theirs did.

"Well, I hear that you have the Anderson family almost ready for baptism," Paul said.

"It looks good. We've set the tenth as the date. I think they'll make it."

"Great," Paul said. "That's terrific. You must really feel good."

"We're happy about it." Kurt's already ruddy complexion became a little more so. Then they looked at Pam.

One cheek rested on her hand. Her blond hair fell along her shoulders. Her free hand stroked the knee of her jeans absent-mindedly.

She gained weight with the last baby, thought Paul. He remembered when Pam came to a Halloween party as a mummy. She was encased in elastic bandages and her figure was slim and taut. She was working as a registered nurse then, Paul remembered. He and Lois were new in the ward.

"Pam," Kurt said. "Honey?"

She startled and turned toward them. "Oh, hi," she said. Her voice was faint. Her eyes were enormous. They had always bothered Paul, they were so huge and brown. Like a cow's, he thought.

"Hi, Paul."

"How are you, Pam?"

Her mouth twitched as if it would smile but it didn't. "Oh . . ." she said. She looked past them.

"The kids," she said. Her voice was almost a whisper.

"You put Jason and Jeremy to bed. Don't you remember?"

"The baby," she said. "Did you . . .?"

There was a pause. They all heard the baby's steady wail.

"Pam!" Kurt exclaimed. He jumped up and ran out of the room. Paul could hear his voice shouting down the hall but couldn't understand the words. He wondered if he should follow. But Pam seemed to have relaxed and

was looking out the window again.

"I don't believe it," Kurt said. He walked into the room, arms extended full length. One hand circled the baby's torso, the other hand gripped its thigh. The screaming baby dripped on his shoes.

"You left him in the tub! I thought you'd put him to bed, Pam."

Pam took a towel from the floor and wrapped the baby in it carefully. She began to rub his hair. He stuck a fist in his mouth and the howl subsided to a whisper. She wrapped a second towel around him.

"If you had asked me to get the baby out," Kurt said, "I would have been happy to do it. I didn't know he was still in there. You know I was finishing my report."

Paul tried to interject something as Kurt continued, but what could he say? He stared at Pam. She held the baby against her in his terrycloth cocoon and scooted back on the loveseat until her spine touched the window as if she were taking her baby and backing into another room.

"Pam, are you even listening?" Kurt demanded. He paced into the dining room.

The sheer white curtains suddenly billowed out from the window and fluttered toward Paul. After a startled second, Paul realized that a heating vent was behind them. The temperature outside must be dropping.

"Do you see it?" Kurt asked, striding back into the room. "She isn't even with it half the time."

He turned on his heel and left again. In a minute Paul heard water running in the kitchen.

Paul cleared his throat. Pam didn't look at him. He wasn't sure she even remembered he was there. One arm curled around the baby who was falling asleep with his face against her breast. Lois had told him that Pam was pregnant again. Pam's other arm lay across her lap with the hand turned up. Paul could see the narrow blue veins beneath the white skin. Her skin's even fairer than Lois's, he thought.

"Pam," Paul said. She didn't look up. He slid off the couch and squatted in front of her, his face just lower than hers. "Pam, what is it?"

She looked at him then. Her mouth pulled down and her eyes flooded with tears. Behind the tears was some darkness so pain-filled that Paul was astonished. What could be so wrong? Her face twisted as she tried to speak. He had the feeling that she was sparing him some terrible news that would ruin his life. He saw that it was unfor-givable to ask her to speak of it.

She's like a wraith from the underworld, he thought, staring at her in horror. His brain raced, searching for words, any words that would lay to rest this silence. He scooted backwards on to the edge of the couch.

"Don't worry, Paul," she said then, her voice a steady whisper. "Kurt will be right back."

"Sure," Paul said, settling back on the couch. "Sure, Pam." He was weak with relief and horror. He looked at his hands. The house creaked.

"Well, Pam," Kurt said. His voice was calmer. He was in control again. "Paul came over tonight to help me give you a blessing. You just aren't yourself these days. We

want to help you. Okay?"

Pam didn't answer. She was staring at her arm again—no, at her wrist, Paul saw. Paul could see nothing unusual, but Pam's chin shook as she looked at it.

"Pam," Kurt said sharply. She didn't look up. It was as if his voice was pitched in a range she simply didn't hear.

Kurt shrugged and pulled a pen from his shirt pocket. "I have some oil right here," he said, opening a vial at the top of his pen. It was very quiet as he dropped a little into his palm. Then a humming began in the kitchen. A gust of wind threw a handful of grit and leaves against the window.

"Okay," Kurt said.

They moved into position. As Paul prayed he tried to force his own content through his hands, his fingertips, into Pam. He wanted to help whatever it was that haunted her, to infuse her with his own satisfaction. But as he listened to Kurt's voice praying in turn, he felt darkness creep up his hands and wrists like a stain and his blood run like ink. A chill trickled up his backbone. When he opened his eyes the light was harsh and alien.

Pam was motionless. In a minute Paul walked around her and peered at her face. She was still staring at her wrist. He wondered if she had even closed her eyes during the prayer. He touched her hand a second. It was icy and limp. "Goodnight, Pam."

He shook Kurt's hand. It was warm and moist. "We'll see you soon. Keep in touch."

"Thanks for coming over. I'm sure she'll snap out of it. I'm going to hang around most of the day tomorrow and I'll see to it that she gets to Relief Society on Sunday."

"Good thinking," Paul approved. "Maybe you could go for a drive up the canyon tomorrow. Or take her out to lunch. You know."

"Sure," Kurt said. "Thanks again."

PAUL filled his lungs with the night air. It was colder but he was so happy to be out of the Jacksons' house that he broke into a jog from happiness as much as anything. He felt sorry for Kurt. The moon was a thin crescent in the sky. Paul could see the circle of the moon's surface, a shadow against the dark sky. The leaves rustled like mice in the gutters.

Well, Pam's not as bad as Lynette Strauss was, Paul thought, as his feet established a rhythm on the pavement. Lynette's kids were entirely out of control, shooting each other with cap guns and falling dead right on the bishop's shoes. Lynette didn't notice or didn't care. Usually she monitored her children's every move.

Only for a few minutes had Paul recognized her as someone he knew. She had leaned forward at one point and looked straight at the bishop. "I want to get a job."

The bishop smiled, encouraged. "I can understand that," he said, "of course you do. But your children aren't even in school yet."

"I can make arrangements," Lynette said. "I may never hear from Jake again."

"No woman has a more important job than being with her kiddies every day. Besides, by the time you pay a babysitter, you won't make much." Lynette looked at

him stonily.

"What kind of job?" asked Paul, thinking maybe there was something she could do at home.

"I worked at a bank before we got married. I think I could go back. I dropped out of school my junior year to help Jake get his degree."

"The Church will help you," the bishop said, "if you'll just care for these children. It's not charity. It's the Lord's way of helping those who need temporary assistance. You've paid your tithing. In a few years you can think about a job."

There was an angry yowl. A small, cream-colored kitten shot from the little boy's hands and streaked across the room. It began to climb a rubber tree plant.

The late afternoon sun glared through the window behind Paul, warming the back of his neck, but the room was full of shadows. As the kitten peered around the trunk, its eyes blazed orange in the dim room. Paul stared. He knew it was a trick of the light but still he squirmed in his chair as that fiery gaze rested on him for a full minute. He tried to see it from another angle, but couldn't. He started to exclaim, then to laugh, but he did neither.

Then the kitten leaped down and pranced across the room. Paul waited. When it brushed his ankle, he bent and snatched it up in one hand. Casually he turned it and looked at its eyes. They were pale blue. The kitten's heart tapped against his palm.

Suddenly Paul felt violence rise inside of him. He wanted to hurl the kitten across the room. Even now he could feel the smack against the wall in the pit of his stomach and along the soles of his feet. The blabbering television, the kids, the untidy room made his head pound. Under every toy, inside every tippy paper airplane lurked darkness like a shadow of his own inadequacy, and he wanted only to be free, to smash, to rage, to blast things through windows.

Lynette had been deep in the shadows of the chair by the time Paul and the bishop rose and prayed with their hands on her head. Paul felt the darkness recede a step or two as he prayed, but even then he sensed that once they left the shadows would press in again.

As Paul jogged around the corner that led down a slight grade to his house, he looked at the blocks of houses. It seemed so futile. How could a few men hope to hold back the darkness in so many houses? A sudden gust blew a newspaper page toward him like a huge, flapping bird and he ducked, breaking his stride.

He spurted into a run. His guests were waiting, his wife and his children were there, and he could see the yellow windows of his house now as square and clean as heaven.

Still, he somehow felt that he brought defeat home with him, that even in his own shining house a rustle would follow him. Or sometimes from the corner of his eye, he would catch a furtive motion. He would have to be on guard, armored against the shadows. At night as Lois slumbered sweetly beside him, he would hear the sly shifting of shoulders in the dark rooms, and the stealthy scouting that never sounded an audible footstep.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE
ARGUMENTS FOR AND
AGAINST VIEW OF THE HEBREWS
AS A POSSIBLE SOURCE FOR
THE BOOK OF MORMON.

DEFENDING THE KEYSTONE

THE COMPARATIVE METHOD REEXAMINED

MADISON U. SOWELL

ON NOVEMBER 28, 1841, Joseph Smith recorded in his journal that the Book of Mormon is "the keystone of our religion."¹ Joseph's analogy, though brief, aptly illustrates an important point to keep in mind as we discuss a reputed Book of Mormon source. We may infer from the analogy that just as a keystone locks together the other stones of an arch, so the Book of Mormon supports and gives validity to the doctrines of Mormonism. Without a keystone no arch could stand; without the Book of Mormon the religion Joseph Smith founded would lose its chief reason for being. Everything in Mormonism ultimately hinges on the authenticity of our uniquely Mormon scripture.² Today, after one hundred and fifty years, the Book of Mormon still remains the acid test of Joseph Smith's claims to prophetic election. Mormon apostates and other anti-Mormons had already understood this simple fact years before the Prophet made the keystone comparison, and they had concluded

that a most effective way to attack Mormonism was to attack the Book of Mormon's validity as an ancient record. By chipping away at Mormonism's central stone, to continue the analogy, various factions and hostile groups hoped to affect the Prophet's downfall and to encompass the destruction of his religion.

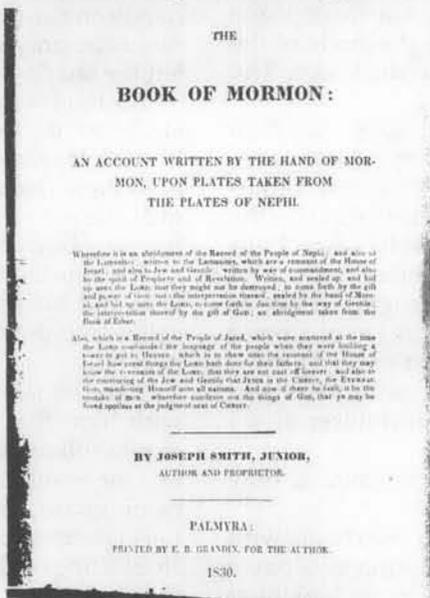
Wide-ranging theories surfaced, therefore, in attempts to uncover the "true" origin of the Book of Mormon. Needless to report, those opposed to

Mormonism always advocated a human, rather than a divine or supernatural, origin of the book. In 1834, for instance, E. D. Howe published *Mormonism Unveiled* [sic] in which it was proposed that the original authors of the Book of Mormon were Solomon Spaulding, author of *Manuscript Story*, and Sidney Rigdon, one of Joseph's earliest and most notable converts.³ The Spaulding-Rigdon theory, while popular for several decades, has long since been discredited. As Thomas O'Dea concludes, "Few, if any, scholars take it seriously today."⁴ Other theories ascribed the Book of Mormon's authorship either to Oliver Cowdery or to an epileptic and, consequently, visionary Joseph Smith.⁵ It is not our intent, however, to delve into these particular conjectures, which are largely out of vogue in today's scholarly world. Our attention will focus instead on another theory, one which widely circulates in current anti-Mormon literature but is hardly known to the Mormon membership at large. Like the topic of Mormonism and Masonry, the subject of Joseph's possible reliance on Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* for parts of the Book of Mormon has seldom been discussed publicly in Mor-

(Continued on page 50)

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TEXTUAL PROBLEMS WHICH
MAY CHALLENGE THE BOOK'S
ORIGIN AND AUTHORSHIP
WERE EXAMINED BY
B. H. ROBERTS.

DEFENDING THE KEYSTONE

BOOK OF MORMON DIFFICULTIES

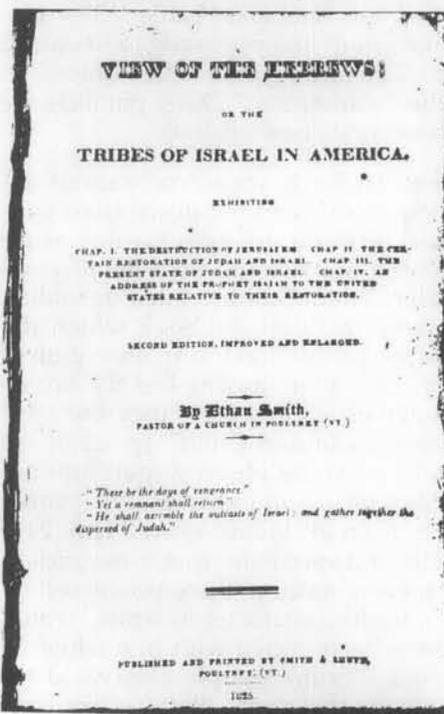


GEORGE D. SMITH, JR.

IN AUGUST 1921 a Mr. Couch of Washington, D.C., wrote to his friend in Logan, Utah, asking several pointed questions about certain details of the Book of Mormon. These questions were forwarded to Apostle James B. Talmage, who in turn gave them to B.H. Roberts of the First Quorum of the Seventy. In response, Roberts wrote two manuscripts, "Book of Mormon Difficulties" and "A Book of Mormon Study," detailing potential problems which might be used to discredit the Book of Mormon. The first paper was presented to the Council of the Twelve. In a cover letter to President Heber J. Grant which accompanied the manuscript, Roberts explained his motives for cataloguing what some might feel best forgotten. "I am thoroughly convinced," he wrote, "of the necessity of all the brethren herein addressed becoming familiar with these Book of Mormon problems, and finding the answer for them, as it is a matter that will concern the faith of the Youth of the Church now as also in the future, as well as such casual inquirers that may come

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to us from the outside world."¹ Believing that "our faith is not only unshaken but unshakable,"² Roberts therefore felt it was possible to face these challenges directly. Joseph Smith himself had declared the book "the keystone" of the restored gospel. "Maintenance of the truth of the Book of Mormon is absolutely essential to



the integrity of the whole Mormon movement," wrote Roberts in another letter to President Grant about the same matter, "for it is inconceivable that the Book of Mormon should be untrue in its origin and character and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to be a true church."³ This proposition is no less true today and the continuing need to examine the book no less critical. Two arguments often used against the Book of Mormon, both addressed by Roberts during his lifetime, are therefore worthy of careful attention.

The first "difficulty" was detailed at length in Roberts' second manuscript, "A Book of Mormon Study." In 1823, seven years before the Book of Mormon was published, Ethan Smith had written *View of the Hebrews*,⁴ a compilation of popular opinions about the origins of the American Indians, who supposedly descended from the Hebrew tribes. Some have claimed that this book was a source for the Book of Mormon. The book was circulated in the area where Joseph lived. Ethan Smith was a Congregational minister living in Poultney, Vermont, Oliver Cowdery's home until 1825 when he moved west and met Joseph Smith. Joseph Smith's own birthplace, Sharon, Vermont,

was only 40 miles from Poultney. But *View of the Hebrews*, which was expanded in the 1825 edition, was also read widely in New York, where the Joseph Smith family moved. Several endorsements of the book from people living in New York were included in the second edition of the book, one from Eden, New York, a town as far west as Buffalo.⁵

Ethan Smith had collected reports about the Hebrew origin of the Indians from missionaries and traders who had lived among them. This idea was also held by such well-known American religious leaders as Roger Williams, William Penn, Cotton Mather, and Jonathan Edwards, as well as authors James Adair, Charles Crawford, Elias Boudinot, and Josiah Priest. Priest had published two books supporting the thesis.⁶ In *The Wonders of Nature and Providence Displayed* (editions printed in 1825 and 1826) he concluded, after quoting some forty writers, that most ministers of New England and the Middle States believed the Indians were descendants of the Hebrews.⁷ Between 1833 and 1838 he published eight editions of the second book, *American Antiquities*.

Although there is no direct evidence that Joseph Smith ever read *View of the Hebrews* before the Book of Mormon was translated, in an 1842 article in the *Times and Seasons*⁸ he did use a quote from *American Antiquities* and an allusion to Ethan Smith as support for the validity of his own



THE MIGRATIONS OF ETHAN SMITH'S LOST TRIBES ARE NOT UNLIKE THOSE OF THE BOOK OF MORMON JAREDITES.

work. Certainly then, these ideas about the origin of the Indians were widely circulated during the time and at the place Joseph was translating the Book of Mormon.⁹

There are at least five themes found in *View of the Hebrews* (1825 edition) which have parallels in the Book of Mormon.

1 Ethan Smith, like Joseph Smith, believed that the American Indians descended from the ancient Hebrews. But Ethan Smith concluded "from various authors and travelers among the Indians, the fact that the American Indians are the ten tribes of Israel" (p. 85). The Book of Mormon describes a people descended from only three tribes—Lehi's descendants from the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, two of the lost tribes, and Mulek's descendants from the tribe of Judah.¹⁰ The opening chapters of both books deal with the destruction of Jerusalem and the scattering of Israel. Both books then describe the gathering and restoration of Israel to its own land. Ethan Smith quotes the eleventh chapter of Isaiah, which the Angel Moroni also recited to Joseph Smith on September 12, 1828 (*History of the Church*, Vol. I, p. 12). The migrations of Ethan Smith's "lost tribes" are not unlike those of the Book of Mormon Jaredites. Both groups journeyed north into a valley—the valley of the Euphrates for the "lost tribes" and the valley of Nimrod for the Jaredites. Both finally crossed the sea—the lost tribes in a year and a half, the Jaredites in 344 days—to an uninhabited land "where man never dwelt" (tribes) or "into that quarter where there never had man been (Jaredites, Ether 2:5).

2 In both books savage tribes destroyed their civilized brethren in a final great battle.¹¹ The savage group had been judged or cursed by God and become "idle hunters" in the "wilderness." Other parallels are mentioned (see sidebar).

3 In both accounts, sacred records, handed down from generation to generation, were buried in a hill and then found years later. Ethan Smith related an Indian tradition "that the book which the white people have was once theirs" (p. 115), that "having lost the knowledge of reading it . . . they buried it with an Indian Chief" (p. 223). He tells of some Hebrew parchments "dug up . . . on Indian Hill . . . probably from an Indian grave" (pp. 217-218) and speculates that some ancient Hebrew writing, once possessed by "a leading character in Israel," could have been buried with him when he died. "Some people afterward removing that earth, discover this frag-

ment. . . . Something like this may possibly have occurred to favour of our Indians being of Israel" (pp. 217-218).¹² Similar ideas are found in Mormon's description of burying sacred "records which had been handed down by our father," burying them up "in the Hill Cumorah" (Mormon 6:6).



SACRED RECORDS, HANDED DOWN FROM GENERATION TO GENERATION, WERE BURIED IN A HILL IN BOTH ACCOUNTS.

4 Both the *View of the Hebrews* and the Book of Mormon identify the American Indians as the "stick of Joseph or Ephraim," the tribe of Joseph, which will be reunited with the stick of Judah, the Jews, as prophesied by Ezekiel (chapter 37). Ten tribes of Israel (the stick of Joseph) were carried into captivity by the Assyrians in 722 B.C.; the Jews in the Southern Kingdom (the stick of Judah) were exiled by the Babylonians in 587 B.C. Ezekiel 37 described the reunion of these two houses of Abraham (Smith, pp. 52-54; D&C 27:5).¹³

5 Both books inform Americans that they should convert the Indians to their Hebraic scriptural heritage. The Book of Mormon quotes Isaiah and prophesies that "God will raise up a mighty nation among the Gentiles" (1 Nephi 22:7), which shall carry a message "unto the remnant of our seed . . . wherefore they shall be gathered together to the lands of their inheritance" (2 Nephi 30:3, 5; 1 Nephi 22:12). *View of the Hebrews* states that it is "probable that the Christian people of the United States of America are the subjects of that address" (Of Isaiah 18; Smith p. 228). Ethan Smith exhorts: "Look at the origins of those degraded natives of your continent . . . teach them their ancient history; their former blessings; their being cast away; and the promises of their return. . . . Go thou nation highly distinguished in the last days; save the remnant of my people" (pp. 249-250).

THE FINAL GREAT BATTLE

BOOK OF MORMON

"And I did teach my people to build buildings, and to work in all manner of wood, and of iron, and of copper, and of brass, and of steel, and of gold, and of silver, and of precious ores, which were in great abundance." (2 Nephi 5:15)

"And I bear record that the people of Nephi did seek diligently to restore the Lamanites unto the true faith of God. But our labors were in vain;" (Enos 20)

"Inasmuch as they will not hearken unto thy words they shall be cut off from the presence of the Lord . . . And he had caused a cursing to come upon them . . ." (2 Nephi 5:20-21)

" . . . they did become an idle people . . . and did seek in the wilderness for beasts of prey." (2 Nephi 5:24)

"And now I finish my record concerning the destruction of my people, the Nephites. And it came to pass that we did march forth before the Lamanites." (Mormon 6:1)

"swords, the hilts thereof were cankered with rust" (Mosiah 8:11)

"a land which was covered with the bones of men" (Mosiah 8:8)

"a people who were as numerous as the hosts of Israel" (Mosiah 8:8)

"With the records was found a curious instrument, which the ancients called Urim and Thummim which consisted of two transparent stones set in the rim of a bow fastened to a breast plate." (History of the Church, Vol. V, p. 537)

VIEW OF THE HEBREWS

"But that the people who first migrated to this western world did possess some knowledge of the mechanic arts (as much, doubtless, as was possessed by Israel when they disappeared in the east), appears from incontestable facts . . . such as the finding of brick, earthen ware, sculptures, some implements of iron . . . which furnish an argument in favor of the Indians having descended from the ten tribes." (pp. 171-172)

" . . . it took place under a vindictive Providence, as has been noted, to accomplish divine judgments denounced against the idolatrous ten tribes of Israel." (p. 174)

"finding themselves in a vast wilderness filled with the best of game, . . . most of them fell into a wandering idle hunting life" (p. 172)

" . . . but the more savage tribes prevailed; and in the process of time their savage and jealous rage annihilated their more civilized brethren . . . this accounts for their loss of the knowledge of letters, of the art of navigation, and the use of iron." (p. 172)

"a small sword . . . the blade thereof was gone by rust." (p. 194)

"a great quantity of bones . . . the remains of men slain in some great battle" (p. 195)

"a population as numerous as that which once animated the borders of the Nile . . ." (p. 199)

Thummim, the American Archimagus wears a breast plate made of a white conch shell with two holds . . . and fastens a buck horn white button to the outside of each, as if in imitation of the precious stones of the Urim." (p. 150)

"On the breast lay a piece of copper; also a curious stone five inches in length . . . The whole appeared to have been designed to wear upon the neck as a kind of breast plate." (p. 195)

After detailing such parallels in his "A Book of Mormon Study," B.H. Roberts posed the following rhetorical question:

Did Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* furnish structural material for Joseph Smith's Book of Mormon? It has been pointed out in these pages that there are many things in the former book that might well have suggested many major things in the other. Not a few things merely, one or two, or a half dozen, but many; and it is this fact of many things of similarity and the cumulative forces of them, that makes them so serious a menace to Joseph Smith's story of the Book of Mormon's origin.¹⁴

A second group of questions is often raised regarding the number of passages from the King James translation of the Bible that are found in the Book of Mormon. In 1903 Mr. H. Chamberlain, an investigator from Spencer, Iowa, addressed a question about the matter to President Joseph F. Smith. His wife had joined the Church, but he had not been able to reconcile apparent conflicts concerning the Book of Mormon. "Christ is quoting to the people on this side of the water," he observed, "the third and fourth chapters of Malachi, quoted, according to the Book of Mormon, in the identical text of the King James' version, not missing a word . . . not even omitting the words supplied by the translators."

Recognizing that no two translators are likely to produce identical



THE BOOK OF MORMON HAS CHRIST QUOTING THE WORDS OF PETER, BEFORE PETER SPOKE THEM.

translations, even if working from the same text, he expressed doubt that such similarities could occur in two translations unless one were copied from the other. "And then it takes the utmost care," he added, "to get them exactly alike, word for word, and letter for letter as this one." He then asked this question: "How do you as a church account for these things? . . . Did Joseph copy it from the Bible, or did the Lord adopt this identical language in revealing to Joseph?"¹⁵

There are many examples of nearly identical constructions and metaphors which appear in both the Book of Mormon and the King James version of the Bible (see sidebar). Some quoted passages are particularly problematic because the Book of Mormon includes statements which would not yet have been written—New Testament passages, for example, before the time of Christ. There are also time sequence conflicts involving the Old Testament.

For example, Nephi, who wrote approximately 550 years before Christ, quotes Malachi, who lived nearly 150 years later. Malachi:

For, behold, *the day cometh that shall burn as an oven; and all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly, shall be stubble; and the day that cometh shall burn them up* (Malachi 4:1).

shall the Son of righteousness arise with healings in his wings (Malachi 4:2)

Similar passages from Nephi:

For behold, saith the prophet, . . . *the day soon cometh that all the proud and they who do wickedly shall be as stubble; and the day cometh that they must be burned* (1 Nephi 22:15).

Wherefore, all those who are proud, and that do wickedly, *the day that cometh shall burn them up, . . . for they shall be as stubble* (2 Nephi 26:4).

He shall rise from the dead *with healing in his wings* (2 Nephi 25:13).

But the Son of righteousness shall appear unto them; and he shall heal them (2 Nephi 26:9).

Another problematic section in the Book of Mormon has Christ quoting the words of Peter, before Peter spoke them. Actually, Christ is supposed to be quoting Moses, but instead of citing Deuteronomy 18:15-19, he quotes Peter's paraphrase found in Acts 3:22-26. Then Christ, speaking about himself, uses the same words Peter used in this passage. Peter:

Unto you first God having raised up his Son Jesus, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from his iniquities (Acts 3:26).

Christ describing his own mission:

The Father having raised me up unto you first, and sent me to bless you in turning away every one of you from his iniquities (3 Nephi 20:26).

B.H. Roberts wrote a response to the letter which Chamberlain had written regarding such quoting and paraphrasing; the response, dated November 1903, was printed in the *Improvement Era*. Again Roberts acknowledged the real difficulty posed and noted that such parallels have "been recognized by believers in

PARALLEL VERSES

BOOK OF MORMON

NEW TESTAMENT

the ax is laid at the root of the tree, therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit shall be hewn down and cast into the fire (Alma 5:52, B.C. 83)

the ax is laid unto the root of the trees: therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire (Matthew 3:10)

the dog to his vomit, or like the sow to her wallowing in the mire (3 Nephi 7:8, A.D. 29-30)

the dog is turned to his own vomit again; and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire (2 Peter 2:22)

it shall be all fulfilled, every jot and tittle, and none shall have passed away (Alma 34:13, B.C. 74)

one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled (Matthew 5:18)

shall be cast into outer darkness; there shall be weeping, and wailing, and gnashing to teeth (Alma 40:13, B.C. 73)

shall be cast into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth (Matthew 8:12)

stand fast in that liberty wherewith God has made them free (Alma 58:40, B.C. 63)

Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free (Galatians 5:1)

the last shall be first, and the first shall be last (1 Nephi 13:42, B.C. 690-592)

many that are first shall be last; and the last shall be first (Matthew 19:30)

and there shall be one fold and one shepherd (1 Nephi 22:25, B.C. 588-570)

and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd (John 10:16)

the Lamb of God, who should take away the sins of the world (1 Nephi 10:10, B.C. 600-592)

the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world (John 1:29)

by the law no flesh is justified (2 Nephi 2:4, B.C. 588-570)

by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified (Galatians 2:16)

God will give liberally to him that asketh (2 Nephi 4:35, B.C. 588-570)

If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally (James 1:5)

And whoso knocketh, to him he will open (2 Nephi 9:42, B.C. 559-545)

and to him that knocketh it shall be opened (Matthew 7:8)

Whatsoever thing ye shall ask in faith, believing . . . ye shall receive it (Enos 15, B.C. 544-421)

whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive (Matthew 21:22)

they who are righteous shall be righteous still, and they who are filthy shall be filthy still (2 Nephi 9:16, B.C. 559-545)

he which is filthy, let him be filthy still; and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still (Revelation 22:11)

endured the crosses of the world and despised the shame (2 Nephi 9:18, B.C. 559-545)

endured the cross, despising the shame (Hebrews 12:2)

where there is no law given there is no punishment (2 Nephi 9:25 B.C. 559-545)

where no law is, there is no transgression (Romans 4:15)

But woe unto the rich (2 Nephi 9:30)

But woe unto you that are rich (Luke 6:24)

to be carnally-minded is death, and to be spiritually-minded is life (2 Nephi 9:39, B.C. 559-545)

to be carnally minded is death, but to be spiritually minded is life (Romans 8:6)

the Book of Mormon, but I do not know that I can say that the Church as yet has settled upon any explanation." He explained that Mormons generally believe that Joseph Smith translated the words of Isaiah, Malachi, and Christ which appear in the Book of Mormon from manuscripts other than those used by the translators of the King James Bible—in fact, Joseph's manuscripts were written in different languages. So the question of why some passages appear to be identical to ones found in the Bible "constitutes a real difficulty, and one, too, in which we have no word from the Prophet, Joseph Smith."¹⁶

In this letter, Roberts then "conjectured" about possible explanations for these similarities: "When Joseph Smith saw that the Nephite record was quoting the prophecies of Isaiah, of Malachi, or of the Savior, he too used the English Bible and compared those passages as far as they paralleled each other; finding that in substance, in thought, they were alike, he adopted our English translation. . . ." He also suggested that although Joseph Smith obtained the facts and ideas from the Nephite characters, he expressed them in his own language. If the passage closely resembled the Bible, he used biblical language.

In 1906, in another article in the *Improvement Era*, Roberts discussed this translation process at some length and again concluded that Joseph

pear under the characters, that Joseph would simply read off the English translation to his scribe.¹⁸ Thus the question of translation methods becomes an important part of dealing with challenges such as these leveled against the Book of Mormon.

Given the complexity of the issues, members of the Church must abandon facile defenses of Joseph Smith and his work if they intend to confront questions regarding the authenticity of the Book of Mormon. The issue of translation is only one example. B.H. Roberts also led the way in confronting other difficult issues. For example, Mormons have often claimed that Joseph's limited education and background precluded his writing the Book of Mormon on his own. "Was Joseph Smith possessed of a sufficiently vivid and creative imagination as to produce such a work as the Book of Mormon from such common knowledge as was extant in the communities where he lived in his boyhood and young manhood; from the Bible, and more especially from the *View of the Hebrews* by Ethan Smith?" queried Roberts in his "A Book of Mormon Study." He then cited examples of Joseph's facility with language. He first referred to the passage from Lucy Mack Smith's biography of her son, wherein Joseph, at the age of seventeen, reportedly recited stories of ancient American Indian civilizations, describing "their dress, mode of travelling, and the animals upon which they rode; their cities, their buildings, with every particular; their mode of warfare; and also their religious worship. . . with as much ease, seemingly, as if he had spent his whole life among them."¹⁹ He next quoted Joseph Smith, somewhat older, writing to the Saints from Liberty Jail—first an eloquent prayer, then a characterization of Missouri Governor Boggs as "wimbling willows upon the shore to catch the floodwood."²⁰

He then concluded that there could be no doubt that Joseph Smith possessed a vivid and creative imagination, which, "given the suggestions that are to be found in the 'common knowledge' of accepted American antiquities of the times, supplemented by such a work as Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews*, could make it possible for him to create a book such as the Book of Mormon is."²¹

The fact that Joseph *could* have written the Book of Mormon doesn't mean that he *did* nor does the existence of problems regarding the book mean that its authenticity is automatically discredited. Nonetheless, if the Book of Mormon is to maintain its



ROBERTS SUGGESTED THAT ALTHOUGH JOSEPH OBTAINED THE FACTS AND IDEAS FROM THE NEPHITE CHARACTERS, HE EXPRESSED THEM IN HIS OWN LANGUAGE.

central position, there are many questions yet to examine. As Roberts insisted, not until we adopt "the viewpoint of an open mind, investigating the facts of the Book of Mormon origin and authorship. . . can [we] look without fear on all that can be said against it."²²

Notes

1. On January 4, 5, and 26, 1922, B.H. Roberts presented his 141-page paper, "Book of Mormon Difficulties," to the General Authorities. This paper detailed linguistic problems in the Book of Mormon. For example, how could so many languages have evolved from one language in only 1000 years? Also, Roberts was concerned about the lack of archeological evidence for the Nephite peoples' use of domestic animals (including the horse), iron and steel, wheat and barley, and wheel vehicles.

The second paper, "A Book of Mormon Study," discussed parallels with the *View of the Hebrews* and certain internal inconsistencies in the Book of Mormon. A cover letter dated March 15, 1923, addressed to President Heber J. Grant has been saved with the manuscript. There is no evidence that Roberts ever presented it to President Grant. In a letter to Elder Richard R. Lyman, dated October 24, 1927, Roberts explained that his investigations concerning the Book of Mormon had been interrupted in 1922 by a call to serve as Eastern States Mission President; Truman Madsen quotes a 1932 letter from Roberts to Elizabeth Skolfield which indicated that he had not yet presented the second paper (*BYU Studies* 19:441). Roberts died in 1933.

In a December 26, 1967, letter, Grant Ivins, former BYU professor of comparative religion and son of apostle Anthony Ivins, wrote about a B.H. Roberts manuscript "pointing out the similarity between *View of the Hebrews* and the Book of Mormon": "He wanted to publish this comparison, but the Church authorities would not sanction its publication" (Letter to Heber Holt; copy preserved in Special Collections, University of Utah).

In December 1979, Adele W. Parkinson, widow of B.H. Roberts' grandson, presented copies of "Book of Mormon Difficulties" and "A Book of Mormon Study," along with related correspondence, to the Special Collections Library at the University of Utah; copies of this material went to BYU.



MAINTENANCE OF THE TRUTH OF THE BOOK OF MORMON IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO THE INTEGRITY OF THE WHOLE MORMON MOVEMENT.

Smith must have supplied the English words after the Lord introduced the ideas.¹⁷ Roberts reached these conclusions despite statements by Book of Mormon witnesses David Whitmer and Martin Harris that Joseph would look into a hat at the seer stones and that actual English words would ap-

2. Letter to President Grant, March 15, 1923.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Ethan Smith, *View of the Hebrews; or the Tribes of Israel in America*, Smith & Shute: Poultney, Vermont, 1823, 2 ed. 1825. In 1977, Arno Press, New York, a subsidiary of the *New York Times*, reprinted the 1823 edition; Modern Microfilm, Salt Lake City, has photo-mechanically reproduced the 1825 edition (1964).

5. Letter dated February 4, 1825, from Rev. Jabez B. Hyde of Eden, Erie County, New York, published under "Recommendations" in the 1825 edition, pp. vi-vii, comments on the 1823 edition.

6. *View of the Hebrews*, pp. 67-225 (Second Ed.). Smith quotes extensively James Adair, *The History of the American Indians*, London, 1775; and Elias Boudinot, *A Star in the West; or, a Humble Attempt to Discover the Long Lost Ten Tribes of Israel*, Trenton, N.J., 1816. Smith refers to forty-six "authors and authorities."

7. Josiah Priest, *The Wonders of Nature and Providence Displayed*, Albany, 1825, 1826.

8. *Times and Seasons*, June 1, 1842, Vol. III, pp. 813-814.

9. Hugh Nibley asserted that "to establish any connection at all between the books of the two Smiths it is absolutely imperative to find something perfectly unique and peculiar in both of them." He was not able to find "any single thing in common between them that is not also found in the Bible" ("The Comparative Method," *Improvement Era* 62 [Oct./Nov. 1959]: 848).

Other LDS references on *View of the Hebrews* include: Bruce D. Blumell, "I Have a Question," *The Ensign* (September 1976): 84-87; Paul R. Cheesman, "View of the Hebrews," unpublished paper, 1963 (Cheesman notes differences between the two books: time of peoples' arrival - 2800 B.C. and 650 B.C. vs. 722 B.C.; way of travel - boats v. "Beering Straits"; reason for coming to America - blessing vs. curse); Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith, the First Mormon*, Doubleday, Garden City, 1977, p. 104; Marvin S. Hill, "The Historiography of Mormonism," *Church History*, Dec. 1959, pp. 418-426; Truman G. Madsen, "B.H. Roberts and the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies* 19 (Summer 1959) Hugh W. Nibley, "New Approaches to Book of Mormon Study," *Improvement Era* (March, 1954): 148-150, 170; Spencer J. Palmer and William L. Knecht, "View of the Hebrews: Substitute for Inspiration?" *BYU Studies* (Winter 1964): 105-113; George Reynolds,

"View of the Hebrews," *Juvenile Instructor* (Oct. 1, 1902); William L. Riley, "A Comparison of Passages from Isaiah and Other Old Testament Prophets in Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* and the Book of Mormon," Brigham Young University Thesis, May 1971.

10. Beginning with Joseph Smith, Church leaders have identified American Indians as descendants of Book of Mormon peoples. (See *DHC* I:12, *CHC* I:167, *JD* 17:299-301, *JD* 14:10, and *Doctrines of Salvation*, I:151.) More recently, the doctrine of Indian origin seems to have been modified to include the widely recognized migrations across the Bering Strait, thousands of years before Book of Mormon chronology. (See McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 2 ed. pp. 32-33; Arrington and Bitton, *Mormon Experience*, p. 14.)

In attributing the origin of the American Indians to three tribes instead of the "Ten Lost Tribes," a well understood classification, the Book of Mormon differs from *View of the Hebrews*. Roberts considers this a variation of slight importance, "since the main idea is . . . that the American Indians are descendants of the Israelites" ("A Book of Mormon Study," Part I, Chap. II, pp. 11-12).

11. Roberts, observing that the Indians lived in a Stone Age culture, queried whether Ethan Smith "was innocently followed into this error [of presuming the use of iron and steel] by the author of the Book of Mormon" ("A Book of Mormon Study," Part I, Chap. VIII, p. 6).

12. The Hebrew parchment was deposited with Dr. Isaiah Thomas, president of the (now American) Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Massachusetts, on the condition that the Society mention it in its bulletin. This was not done, and the parchment was returned in 1818 to the contributor, Sylvester Larned, who then presented it to Elias Boudinot, author of *A Star in the West*. The parchment is not found among Dr. Boudinot's papers, which are deposited at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. (See the publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, #25, 1917, pp. 81-85; and September, 1948, p. 49.)

13. The Book of Mormon interprets "stick" as written record; *View of the Hebrews* applies "stick" as a family branch. Ethan Smith includes the "Ten Lost Tribes" under the stick of Ephraim; the Book of Mormon describes Lehi and Ishmael as two descendants of those of the tribes of Manasseh and Ephraim which remained south and escaped Assyrian captivity and dis-

persal of the Ten Tribes in 722 B.C. These two tribal remnants, plus Mulek (from the tribe of Judah) left Jerusalem before the Babylonian captivity in 587 B.C. and became the three tribes described in the Book of Mormon—stick of Ephraim. The earlier Jaredite peoples had become extinct in Book of Mormon history.

14. "A Book of Mormon Study," Part I, Chap. XIII, pp. 19-24 and Chap. XIV, p. 1.

15. Letter from H. Chamberlain to President Joseph F. Smith, dated October 22, 1903, quoted in the *Improvement Era* 7 (1904):180-182.

16. Letter from B.H. Roberts to H. Chamberlain, dated November 7, 1903, quoted in the *Improvement Era* 7:182-192.

17. For further discussion of Bible quotations in the Book of Mormon see Sidney B. Sperry, *Our Book of Mormon*, Bookcraft, Salt Lake, 1950, Chap. 16; *Answers to Book of Mormon Questions*, Bookcraft, 1967; Paul R. Chessman, *The Keystone of Mormonism*, Salt Lake, Deseret 1973, chap. 3; Hugh Nibley, *An Approach to the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake, Deseret 1964, p. 139; *Saints' Herald*, 108; *The Instructor* (March 1956): 72.

18. Martin Harris describes the "chocolate-colored, somewhat egg-shaped stone which the prophet found while digging a well . . ." which he used to receive divine messages (*CHC*, Vol. I, p. 129). This seer stone resembles the dark-colored stone Joseph Smith looked at in his hat to locate buried silver in 1825, when Josiah Stowell hired him for his reputation as a seer. (*DHC*, Vol. I, p. 17; *CHC*, Vol. I, pp. 81-82; Oliver Cowdery's report in *L.D.S. Messenger and Advocate*, 2 [October 1835]: 200-201; Lucy Smith's *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith and the Prophet*, Liverpool, England, 1853, pp. 91-92; a discussion of Joseph Smith's employment to locate hidden treasures is also found in *Frazers Magazine* 3 [Feb. 1873]:229-230.)

Description by David Whitmer, *An Address to all Believers in Christ*, p. 12, quoted in *Improvement Era* 9 (April 1906):427; Martin Harris, *Millennial Star* 24:86-87, quoted in same *Improvement Era* article.

19. *History of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1901, p. 83.

20. Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, Vol. III, pp. 280-305.

21. "A Book of Mormon Study," Part I, Chap. XIV, p. 13.

22. Letter to President Grant, March 15, 1923.

(Continued from page 44)

mondism. However, given the centrality of the Book of Mormon to Mormonism, the present topic undoubtedly merits a careful review.

The allegation that Joseph Smith wrote the Book of Mormon by borrowing ideas from Ethan Smith's works has circulated for many years. But it was not until the close of World War II that the question first received wide publicity and scholarly acceptance. This came with the printing of Fawn Brodie's life of Joseph Smith, *No Man Knows My History*.⁶ Before we turn to Brodie's controversial book, however, it may be helpful to establish Ethan Smith's identity and pinpoint his geographic location. For many years he was the pastor of a church in Poultney, Rutland County, Vermont. This county adjoins Windsor County, where Joseph Smith's family resided at the time of Joseph's birth. Although Joseph and

Ethan share the same last name, actual family ties have never been demonstrated. Ethan's life span included that of Joseph Smith: Ethan was born in 1762, and he died in 1849,



PEOPLE HAVE WRONGLY CONCLUDED THAT ROBERTS SERIOUSLY DOUBTED THE BOOK OF MORMON'S AUTHENTICITY.

five years after Joseph's martyrdom. In 1823 Ethan published the first edition of *View of the Hebrews; or the Tribes of Israel in America*.⁷ The work proved immediately popular, as it treated a

topic of great interest in early nineteenth-century New England. That topic was the Israelite origin of the American Indians. The first edition as soon exhausted, and an "improved and enlarged" edition appeared in 1825.⁸ Both the first and second editions precede the Book of Mormon by seven and five years respectively. The 1825 edition is divided into the following four chapters: "The Destruction of Jerusalem," "The Certain Restoration of Judah and Israel," "The Present State of the Jews, and of Israel," and "An Address of the Prophet Isaiah, Relative to the Restoration of His People." Chapter III gives "promiscuous testimonies" on page 114 to 225 as evidence that the Indians are of the House of Israel. Furthermore, the book speaks of an ancient record hidden in the earth; it quotes long passages from the prophecies of Isaiah; it describes an Indian artifact resembling the Urim

and Thummim; and it theorizes about two distinct classes of Indians, one barbarous and one civilized, that originally populated America until the savage race destroyed the more civilized.

Brodie makes much of all these facts. In "Red Sons of Israel," the third chapter of her Joseph Smith biography, she asserts that "Joseph's familiarity with the theory of the Hebraic origin of the Indians seems . . . to have come chiefly from . . . *View of the Hebrews*."⁹ She goes on to hypothesize, on the same page, that

It may, in fact, have been *View of the Hebrews* that gave Joseph Smith the idea of writing an Indian history in the first place. 'If the Indians are of the tribes of Israel,' Ethan Smith said pointedly, 'some decisive evidence of the fact will ere long be exhibited.'

Brodie believes, in other words, that Joseph was guilty of fabricating evidence in order to help establish the Hebraic origin of the American In-



BY CHIPPING AWAY AT MORMONISM'S CENTRAL STONE, HOSTILE GROUPS HOPE TO AFFECT THE PROPHET'S DOWNFALL AND THE DESTRUCTION OF HIS RELIGION.

dians. The author significantly qualifies her assertions, however, by admitting that "It may never be proved that Joseph saw *View of the Hebrews* before writing the Book of Mormon" (p. 47). Even without positive proof she nevertheless feels that "striking parallelisms" between the two works "hardly leave a case for mere coincidence," and she summarizes those parallels as follows:

Both books opened with frequent references to the destruction of Jerusalem; both told of inspired prophets among the ancient Americans; both quoted copiously and almost exclusively from Isaiah; and both delineated the ancient Americans as a highly civilized people. Both held that it was the mission of the American nation in the last days to gather these remnants of the house of Israel and bring them to Christianity.

Brodie also speculates that Joseph transformed a reference to the Urim and Thummim in Ethan Smith's book "into the famous magic spectacles with which he translated the golden plates."

Perhaps the most curious of Brodie's statements concerning parallelisms appears in a footnote to the above page in which she observes the following:

The scholarly Mormon historian B.H. Roberts once made a careful and impressive list of parallels between *View of the Hebrews* and the Book of Mormon, but for obvious reasons it was never published. After his death copies were made which circulated among a limited circle in Utah.

This observation, as we shall see, has been at the heart of more controversy than almost any other statement Brodie makes regarding the subject of our inquiry. For other writers have elaborated on Brodie's remarks to conclude that B.H. Roberts lost his faith in the Book of Mormon after studying *View of the Hebrews*. Roberts' family denies such accusations, and existing evidence supports their denial.¹⁰

Mormon reaction to Brodie's book was immediate and damning. A *Deseret News* reviewer accused her of "intense atheism" and "sensationalism" and of being anything but a historian.¹¹ Regarding the *View of the Hebrews* problem in particular, the reviewer felt that Brodie completely invalidated all her assertions when she conceded that no one may ever prove that Joseph saw Ethan's book prior to the 1830 publication of the Book of Mormon. In 1946 High Nibley, in *No, Ma'am, That's Not History*, dismissed Brodie's speculations by following a line of reasoning similar to that in the *Deseret News* review.¹² Nibley would argue that as long as we lack irrefutable proof that Joseph Smith knew *View of the Hebrews* before 1830, the question remains moot. Until Nibley addressed the problem again and at greater length in 1959, most subsequent Mormon respondents treated the question of parallelisms superficially. J.N. Washburn, in his 1954 defense of the Book of Mormon, brushes the issue aside with a typical one-sentence declaration: "With respect to *The View of the Hebrews*, it seems to me that all one need do to drop it from serious consideration in connection with the *Book of Mormon* is just to read it."¹³ That said, Mr. Washburn passes

on to the next objection to the Book of Mormon.

In 1956, in response perhaps to such naive treatments of the issue, Mervin Hogan, a Utah Mason, published B.H. Roberts' list of parallels between the Book of Mormon and *View of the Hebrews*. The list is the one referred to by Brodie in the previously quoted footnote. Hogan prefaces the parallels with a bibliography designed to show "that a speculative relationship of the American Indian to a Hebraic origin is a most time worn thesis which must have sprung from the imagination of some of the theologically inclined soon after 1492."¹⁴ Hogan's well-founded conclusion is that "Joseph Smith was no isolated figure dealing with a unique, unusual, or new subject."¹⁵ To argue otherwise is to ignore much of the pre-1830 literature treating the origin of the American Indians.

Of the eighteen parallels on Roberts' list many of the most noteworthy have already been mentioned, such as the proximity and sequence of publication of Ethan's and Joseph's books, the shared belief in the Israelite origin of the American Indians, the references to hidden or lost books and to the Urim and Thummim, the accounting for two classes of people in ancient America and the fate of the more civilized, the prominence of Jerusalem at the beginning of each work, the Isaiah quotations, and the desire to convert the



MORMON AUTHORS HAVE INCORRECTLY ASSERTED THAT JOSEPH SMITH COULD HAVE GLEANED NOTHING FROM CONTEMPORARY PUBLICATIONS ON THE INDIANS.

Indians to Christianity. Other significant parallels which Roberts outlines treat references to Egyptian language among the Indians, descriptions of an advanced civilization in

early America, and the story of a Messiah in the Western Hemisphere. Regarding the last parallel, Roberts raises this query: "Did the character [Quetzacoatl] spoken of in the *View of the Hebrews*, published seven years before the Book of Mormon, furnish the suggestion of the Christ on the western continent?" The inclusion of such queries has often led people wrongly to conclude that Roberts seriously doubted the Book of Mormon's authenticity. The queries actually had a chiefly didactic function, which should become apparent once it is understood to whom they were addressed.



WE MUST REMEMBER THAT A SUCCESSFUL ATTACK AGAINST POORLY INFORMED AUTHORS DOES NOT REPRESENT A BLOW AGAINST JOSEPH SMITH.

Nibley responded to Brodie and Hogan and, I suppose, to Roberts in two issues of the 1959 *Improvement Era*. His two-part article, entitled "The Comparative Method," constituted the final segment of a series on Book of Mormon criticism.¹⁶ The essay begins by correctly pointing out that different degrees of significance exist in parallels. Then, referring to the list of parallels in question, Nibley claims Roberts never published it because it must have been obvious to Roberts that the list was "quite worthless either to prove or disprove the Book of Mormon."¹⁷ Nibley argues that precisely because "the ideas shared by Ethan and Joseph Smith were not original to either of them"—that is, they were "common knowledge"—why would Joseph Smith have to steal anything from Ethan Smith? While Roberts points out that both works claim a Hebraic origin to the Indians, Nibley responds, "But so did everybody else" (p. 745). To the claim that "the idea of a lost or buried book is found in both documents," Nibley asks, "what could be com-

moner?" After such quips, our apologist affirms that although many parallels are attributed to Joseph's stealing from the *View of the Hebrews*, "he could more easily have found the same material in the Bible" (p. 746). The Isaiah quotations, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the Urim and Thummim are cited as obvious illustrations of this point. Nibley concludes his article by taking final shots at some of the "false" parallels: The two Smiths are talking about different destructions of Jerusalem; Ethan sees Quetzacoatl as a figure of Moses rather than of Christ; the Book of Mormon does not teach that the Indians are descendants of the Lost Ten Tribes but, more precisely, of the tribe of Joseph. The basic thesis behind all these arguments is this:

To establish any connection at all between the books of the two Smiths it is absolutely imperative to find something perfectly unique and peculiar to both of these. Yet there is not *one simple thing* in common between *View of the Hebrews* and the Book of Mormon that is not also found in the Bible.¹⁸

Granted that Nibley is a persuasive, though at times flippant, apologist for Joseph Smith, his analysis of the parallels is not totally satisfying. The point of Roberts' parallels is not to prove that Joseph openly plagiarized Ethan Smith's work, but that he *could* have used it as a rich source book of ideas for some structural and narrative aspects of the Book of Mormon. That position, I believe, is still tenable. The motive Nibley gives for Roberts' failure to publish the parallels—the list does not prove or disprove anything—is somewhat misleading. The true reason for Roberts' not publishing his findings is that they were intended for a restricted audience. In a cover letter to the parallels, dated October 24, 1927, and addressed to Elder Richard R. Lyman, then of the Quorum of the Twelve, Roberts expresses his desire to share the parallels with the Twelve Apostles so as to prepare the brethren against future problems that might arise. He notes that if someone raises the questions of Joseph Smith's dependence on Ethan Smith's work, "it would be greatly to the advantage of our future Defenders of the Faith, if they had in hand a thorough digest of the subject matter."¹⁹ Roberts, continuing his remarks to Elder Lyman, states that "if you are sufficiently interested you may submit it to others of

your Council." He concludes by reporting that "the Parallel . . . is not one fourth part of what can be presented in this form, and the unrepresented part is quite as striking as this that I submit." Finally, we have an important point clarified: Roberts drew up the parallels in 1927 for the same reason he had compiled six years earlier a volume, never published, on "Book of Mormon Difficulties." To quote Elder Roberts' 1921 cover letter to "Pres. Heber J. Grant and Counsellors, the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, and the First Council of the Seventy" regarding the treatise on "Book of Mormon Difficulties":

I trust I am not manifesting an over anxiety to presenting to you so extensive an inquiry as this paper proposes . . . but I assure you that I am most thoroughly convinced of the necessity of all the brethren herein addressed becoming familiar with these Book of Mormon problems, and finding the answer for them, as it is a matter that will concern the faith of the Youth of the Church now as also in the future, as well as such casual inquirers that may come to us from the outside world.²⁰

Roberts' concern was ever that of defending, not destroying, the faith, as Truman Madsen's recent *BYU Studies* article and book also testify.²¹

Nibley's rarely noticed article has, quite predictably, done nothing to deter anti-Mormons from continuing to cite *View of the Hebrews* as the "most obvious source" of the Book of Mormon. Three notable anti-Mormon



IT IS A MATTER THAT WILL CONCERN THE FAITH OF THE YOUTH OF THE CHURCH NOW AS ALSO IN THE FUTURE.

books in this regard are Larry Jonas's *Mormon Claims Examined* (1961), Hal Hougey's "A Parallel"—*The Basis of the Book of Mormon* (1963), and Wesley Jones's *A Critical Study of Mormon Sources* (1964).²² Also, circa 1965, Jerald Tanner published a photo-mechanical reproduction of the 1825 edition of *View of the Hebrews*, wrote his own introduction to it, and included a copy of Roberts' "Parallel."²³

A more recent study than all these is Robert Hullinger's article "the Lost Tribes of Israel and the Book of Mormon" (1970), in which the author argues that Joseph Smith had good intentions but was nevertheless a fraud.²⁴

Of the books cited above, Jonas's study is perhaps the most convincing. In his examination of Mormon claims Jonas is especially adept in attacking



WE MUST BE SUSPICIOUS OF ANY CLAIMS THAT JOSEPH PRODUCED AN ISOLATED AND UNPRECEDENTED ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN AND EARLY CIVILIZATION OF THE INDIANS.

what he calls "Mormon evidence books"—books by LDS writers who attempt to "prove" the Book of Mormon by citing recent archeological discoveries. Unfortunately, some Mormon authors have incorrectly asserted that Joseph Smith could have gleaned nothing from contemporary publications on the Indians because such publications were not available to him in 1830. Jonas easily undermines such claims by quoting Ethan Smith to show that in the 1820s "South American tribes were known for their cities, roads, pyramids, hieroglyphics, founded metals, cut stone work, solar calendar, and advanced government."²⁵ One evidence book with which Jonas deals rather harshly and, I fear, justifiably, is Hunter's and Ferguson's *Ancient America and The Book of Mormon*.²⁶ We must remember, however, that a successful attack against poorly informed LDS authors does not necessarily represent a coup de grace to Joseph Smith.

In the same years that Larry Jonas and Wesley Jones had their volumes printed, two Mormons published books with sections devoted to *View of the Hebrews*. In 1961 Ariel Crowley published *About The Book of Mormon*,²⁷ and in 1964 Sidney Sperry published

Problems of The Book of Mormon.²⁸ Crowley discusses twelve points of similarity and difference between *View of the Hebrews* and the Book of Mormon and then vaguely concludes that Ethan Smith's volume "bears no relation to the Book of Mormon."²⁹ Crowley's summary of structural differences between the two works, however, is enlightening:

1. The *View of the Hebrews* is an argument, with citation of authority, except in the parts where it is hortatory, whereas the Book of Mormon is narrative and historical.

2. The *View of the Hebrews* relates to biblical texts and secular and religious investigations into evidences supporting a particular interpretation of those texts, whereas the Book of Mormon is scripture, complete in itself.

3. The *View of the Hebrews* relates primarily to a people lost in about the year 725 B.C., whereas the Book of Mormon relates to people never lost, but who migrated from Jerusalem a century and a quarter after the "lost tribes" were expelled.

4. The *View of the Hebrews* is intended as a spur to induce Protestants to engage in proselyting Jews and Indians to Protestant Christianity by contributing to missionary organizations and welfare groups. The Book of Mormon has a purpose identical with the purpose of the Bible, i.e., attestation of the divinity of Christ and the preservation of the records of affairs and teachings in a theocratic system.³⁰

Sperry's comments on the subject refer to and sustain those of Crowley. But Sperry also admonishes us to give attention to several differences be-



IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT JOSEPH COULD HAVE READ AND MADE USE OF VIEW OF THE HEBREWS, BUT IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE THAT HE COULD HAVE FOUND AND TRANSLATED THE GOLDEN PLATES.

tween ideas in the Book of Mormon and in *View of the Hebrews*. He does this in a series of thought-provoking rhetorical questions:

Where in [Ethan] Smith's book can be found a discussion of the atonement as distinctive as found in 2 Nephi 9:6-9? Where in

Smith's book can be found a treatment of the doctrine of an opposition in all things and the meaning of the fall such as in 2 Nephi 2:11-25? How could Joseph Smith possibly extract the ideas pertaining to Lehi's dream of the tree, the river, and the rod of iron (1 Nephi 8) from *View of the Hebrews*? Or where in this book could he possibly get the ideas found in Alma 32 pertaining to faith? Certainly Joseph Smith could not have found ideas in *View of the Hebrews* to compose what is said about the state of the soul between death and the resurrection in Alma 40:11-14. And is there anything comparable in Ethan Smith's book to the dramatic three-day ministry of Jesus in 3 Nephi 11-26?³¹



THE MOST IMPORTANT POINT OF ALL IS THAT NEITHER POSITION CAN BE PROVEN TO EVERYONE'S SATISFACTION.

Thus we may conclude our overview of the Ethan Smith controversy.³² But what are we to make of the varied claims for and against *View of the Hebrews* as the source of Joseph Smith's inspiration? First, we must openly concede that source materials did exist prior to 1830 which *could* have provided Joseph Smith or one of his scribes with ideas for a religious history of the American Indians. In addition we must be suspicious of any Mormon claims that would lead us to believe that Joseph produced an isolated and unprecedented account of the origin and early civilization of the Indians. Another point is that while most of the material in *View of the Hebrews* is not original even to Ethan Smith, the book does constitute a synthesis, readily available to Joseph Smith and his contemporaries, of early nineteenth-century conjecture about American Indian culture. At the same time Mormons and anti-Mormons alike must acknowledge that no proof exists at present to show that Joseph Smith had a direct knowledge of Ethan Smith's work. Furthermore, while obvious parallels between the two works exist, none is so close as to justify the idea that Joseph Smith was little more than a plagiarist. In other words it is conceivable that Joseph could have read

and made use of *View of the Hebrews*, but it is also possible that he could have found and translated the golden plates. The most important point of all is that neither position can be "proven" to everyone's satisfaction. For believers in the Book of Mormon, the best test will always be a spiritual confirmation that the Book of Mormon is



MORMONISM'S CAUSE IS NOT ADVANCED BY THE REPETITION AND PROLIFERATION OF UNFOUNDED CLAIMS REGARDING THE BOOK OF MORMON.

a divinely inspired ancient record. No person should base his or her testimony on so-called "Mormon evidence books" but rather on a prayerful examination of the Book of Mormon itself. Likewise, every reflective LDS person will also seek to apprise him- or herself of the major issues surrounding the Book of Mormon and to avoid erroneous assertions regarding the book's uniqueness. Mormonism's cause is not advanced by the repetition and proliferation of unfounded claims regarding the Book of Mormon. On the other hand, the comparative method, as employed by Roberts, is to be encouraged because it forces us to ask questions and helps us understand the historical context preceding the Book of Mormon's publication.

Notes

1. Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1972), p. 194. The metaphor of the keystone for the Book of Mormon is well known to Mormons. See Paul R. Cheesman, *The Keystone of Our Religion: Little Known Truths about the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1973).
2. Cf. *Teaches of PJS*, p. 71: "Take away the Book of Mormon and the revelations, and where is our religion? We have none."
3. E.D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* (Painesville, Ohio, 1834). Although Howe published this attack on Mormonism, the actual author was Mormon apostate Doctor Philastus Hulburt. For further details of the Spaulding-Rigdon theory from an LDS perspective, see: George Reynolds, *The Myth of the "Manuscript Found," or the Absurdities of the "Spaulding Story"* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1883) and Solomon Spaulding, *The "Manuscript Found": Manuscript*

Story (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Co., 1886).

4. Thomas O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 24. Commenting on the theory, O'Dea also says it "is supported by a tenuous arrangement of circumstantial evidence and an even more questionable analysis of internal content."
5. O'Dea gives little credence to the idea that Joseph Smith was an epileptic: "Such theories are, at best, learned conjectures, and, as one fashion succeeds another in psychological theorizing, they take on a very dated appearance."
6. Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet* (New York: Knopf, 1945).
7. Ethan Smith, *View of the Hebrews; or the Tribes of Israel in America* (Poultney, Vt.: Smith & Shute, 1823).
8. We know that the first edition was quickly sold because Smith states in the preface to the second that the "speedy sale" of the 1823 edition was a contributing factor in the republication of the work after so short a time.
9. Brodie, p. 46. Future page references to Brodie will be included in parentheses in the text.
10. See copy of letter by B.H. Roberts' son, Ben E. Roberts, denying rumors that his father had lost his faith over *View of the Hebrews*: Ariel L. Crowley, *About The Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1961), p. 132. See also references in notes 19 and 20 below.
11. See F.M. Brodie's *Reliability as a Witness to the Character and Accomplishments of Joseph Smith (Four Reviews of "No Man Knows My History")*, ed. Hugh Nibley (n.p., n.d.). A copy is located in the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.
12. Hugh Nibley, *No, Ma'am, That's Not History* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1946), pp. 13-14.
13. J.N. Washburn, *The Contents, Structure and Authorship of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954), p. XIII. Cf. also Francis W. Kirkham, *A New Witness for Christ in America: The Book of Mormon*, Vol. 2 (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Co., 1959), pp. 391-400; for another example of superficial treatment of the issue.
14. Mervin B. Hogan, "'A Parallel': A Matter of Chance versus Coincidence," *The Rocky Mountain Mason* 4 (January 1956): 17. The text of "A Parallel" is found on pp. 18-30. I have compared it with a photocopy of the original on file in the Brigham Young University Archives and find it accurate on all important points.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 18. Other pre-1830 works treating the history of the Indians include James Adair, *The History of the American Indian* (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1775); Elias Boudinot, *A Star in the West* (Trenton: D. Fenton, 1816); and Josiah Priest, *The Wonders of Nature and Providence, Displayed* (Albany: Hosford, 1825).
16. The series on Book of Mormon criticism, entitled "Mixed Voices," began with an article in *The Improvement Era* (March 1959) and continued monthly until November 1959, except for the September issue in which no article appeared.
17. Hugh Nibley, "The Comparative Method" in *The Improvement Era* 62 (October 1959): 744. Future page references to this article are included in parentheses in the text.
18. *Ibid.*, 62 (November 1959): 848.
19. B.H. Roberts, Letter to Elder Richard R. Lyman, October 24, 1927. A photocopy of this letter is held by the Brigham Young University Archives, and it is through their courtesy that I quote a section of Elder Roberts' letter here.
20. B.H. Roberts, Letter to Pres. Heber J. Grant, etc., December 29, 1921. Courtesy of the Brigham Young University Archives.
21. See Truman G. Madsen, "B.H. Roberts and the Book of Mormon" in *Brigham Young University Studies* 17 (Summer 1979): 427-45; and *Defender of the Faith: The B.H. Roberts Story* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980).

22. Larry W. Jonas, *Mormon Claims Examined* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1961). Hal Hougey, "A Parallel"—*The Basis of the Book of Mormon* (Concord, Calif.: Pacific Publishing Co., 1963). Wesley M. Jones, *A Critical Study of Book of Mormon Sources* (Detroit: Harlo Press, 1964).
23. Ethan Smith, *View of the Hebrews*. Photomechanical Reprint of the 1825 Edition (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm Co., [1965?]). The final sentence in the Introduction states the following: "Although Ben E. Roberts claims that his father's manuscript does not cast doubt upon the divine authenticity of the Book of Mormon, a careful reading of it would seem to indicate that B.H. Roberts had lost faith in the Book of Mormon."
24. Robert N. Hullinger, "The Lost Tribes of Israel and the Book of Mormon" in *The Lutheran Quarterly* 22 (August 1970): 319-29. "Joseph Smith's probable dependence upon *View of the Hebrews* has all the strengths that others looked for in the Spaulding manuscript theories but none of their weaknesses. In addition, it lets Smith be seen in his time as someone sincerely trying to produce additional proof for the biblical witness of revelation. Whatever element of fraud men might still find in the origin of this book, Smith simply utilized a different method in a time of 'new measures' to bring men to Christ. If he used questionable means to bring about a worthy end, his action differed from that of many more orthodox churchmen only in degree and not in kind" (p. 329).
25. Jonas, pp. 30, 34.
26. See Milton R. Hunter and Thomas Stuart Ferguson, *Ancient America and The Book of Mormon* (Oakland, Calif.: Kolob Book Co., 1950), esp. pp. 1-17. "The Works of Ixtlilxochitl [published in 1848 in England] still constitute the only documentary source, exclusive of *The Book of Mormon*, detailed enough and complete enough to have been of substantial assistance to anyone who might have attempted to write the history of the earliest cultured colonizers of the ancient New World. . . . In fact, no reliable documentary sources were available in New York in 1830" (p. 8). "When first published, both *The Book of Mormon* and the Works of Ixtlilxochitl were apparently far ahead of the times. They credited some of the ancients of certain parts of the New World with such things as sedentary agriculture, metallurgy, hieroglyphic writing, mathematics, an astronomical calendar, and city-states under theocratic governments. In 1830, to credit any of the pre-European peoples of America with such a civilization was unheard of in New York and England" (p. 11).
27. Crowley, pp. 111-33.
28. Sidney B. Sperry, *Problems of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1964), pp. 176-79.
29. Crowley, pp. 130-31.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 127-28.
31. Sperry, p. 178.
32. The only work of possible significance to which we have not already alluded is a short, relatively unknown and unpublished Master's thesis: William L. Riley, "A Comparison of Passages from Isaiah and Other Old Testament Prophets in Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* and The Book of Mormon." M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, May 1971, 61 pp. In his summary statement Riley argues against Fawn Brodie's claim that Joseph Smith had made a mistake in following too minutely Ethan Smith's "copious and exclusive use of Isaiah": "Although Joseph Smith was almost exclusive in his use of Isaiah from the books of the Old Testament, the 6 percent the Isaiah verses contributed to the Book of Mormon was by no means a copious contribution. Even though Ethan Smith was certainly copious in his quoting and referring to Old Testament prophets, he was by no means exclusive in his use of the prophet Isaiah. The study of the Isaiah passages used in the Book of Mormon and *View of the Hebrews* definitely showed that Joseph Smith did not use Ethan Smith as a reference for the Isaiah passages found in the Book of Mormon" (p. 56). Riley also states the following: "With all the changes which were made by both men from the Isaiah text, only in leaving out the word 'their' in Isaiah 3:18 were these changes exactly the same" (p. 57).

From the Editors

Errata

SUNSTONE neglected to credit Alexis Kelner and *Utah Holiday* for the photograph of the Trevor Southey painting published in Volume six, Number two. We regret this omission.

More on Historians

The last magazine (March-April, 1981, Vol. 6, No. 2) included an editorial about the recent discovery of the Joseph III blessing. In that essay we thanked several people who had answered questions we had about the historical context of the document. Each had a unique perspective on the succession story. We wove these viewpoints into our own composite interpretation of the events. In the editorial we failed to include information about the particular expertise of each of these historians—an oversight we wish to correct. Michael Quinn, of course, wrote the article on succession which appeared in *BYU Studies* in 1976. Ron Esplin, an expert on Brigham Young, provided information about Brigham and the extent to which Joseph turned critical priesthood keys to the Quorum of the Twelve. Linda Newell, who is co-authoring a biography of Emma Smith, shared research on Joseph III. Scott Kenney, a biographer of Joseph F. Smith, and Ron Walker, of Heber J. Grant, answered general questions about the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

1982 D.K. Brown Memorial Fiction Contest

In honor of the sponsor of SUNSTONE's fiction contest, next year's competition will carry the name of D.K. Brown. Contest winners will receive cash prizes totalling \$1000. The first place story will be published in SUNSTONE.

SUNSTONE encourages any interested writer to submit material. All entries should in some manner relate to the experience of the Latter-day Saints. All varieties of theme, tone, and attitude are encouraged. Both traditional and experimental forms will be considered. High literary quality is mandatory. Entries are judged by a board of five independent judges.

Rules

1. The D.K. Brown Memorial Fiction Contest is open to all writers. Entries must be delivered to the SUNSTONE office or postmarked by 1 October 1981.
2. Papers must be typewritten, double-spaced, on one side of 8½ by 11 inch paper (not onionskin). Since manuscripts will not be returned, contestants should keep a copy and send in the original. The stories should not exceed 6,000 words. One author may submit no more than three stories.
3. Each entry must be accompanied by a signed statement from the author attesting that it is the contestant's original work, that it is not being considered elsewhere for publication, that it has not won another contest, and that it will not be submitted elsewhere until the contest results have been announced.
4. Announcement of winning entries will be made in the January/February 1982 issue of the magazine. SUNSTONE reserves the right to publish at some time in the future all articles submitted but is not obligated to do so; it reserves the right to make editorial changes as needed in published entries.
5. Prizes will be awarded as follows:
First prize, \$500
Second prize, \$250
Third prize, \$100
Three honorable mentions, \$50 each

Coming in the Next Issue

- Mary C. Segers, "Abortion Politics and Policy: Is There a Middle Ground?"
Richard Sherlock, "A Deafening Silence: The Church and Abortion"
Richard Van Wagoner and Steve Walker, "The Return of Thomas B. Marsh"
Alan Frank Keele, "Trailing Clouds of Glory? Artistic Treatments (and Mistreatments) of the Pre-existence"
Martin Marty, "Cheerios in Church"
Edwin B. Firmage and J.D. Williams, "The Institutional Church and the Individual: The Church in Politics?"

Committee for the SUNSTONE Endowment

Through SUNSTONE's publications, the annual Mormon Theological Symposium, and a forthcoming inter-faith lecture series, the SUNSTONE FOUNDATION hopes to encourage the study of religious values and beliefs by bringing together nationally-recognized LDS and non-LDS scholars and interested others.

To insure the usefulness and quality of these programs, a number of prominent individuals have lent their support to the establishment of an endowment for the SUNSTONE FOUNDATION. You can help by giving a tax-deductible donation of any sum within your means.

Beginning with the July-August issue of SUNSTONE, the list of endowment contributors, both individual and corporate, will be printed under the following headings: Donors, \$25; Sponsors, \$100; Patrons, \$500; Benefactors, \$1000 or more; Donations in Kind. Of course, contributions may be given anonymously.

The editors and Endowment Committee members thank you for your aid in this worthwhile endeavor.

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Congratulations!

SUNSTONE is especially pleased to announce that at the spring meeting of the Mormon History Association in Rexburg Thomas G. Alexander was presented MHA's award for the outstanding article published by a senior scholar during 1980. His article, "The Reconstruction of Mormon Doctrine: From Joseph Smith to Progressive Theology," was published in the July-August 1980 issue of SUNSTONE (Volume Five, Number Four).

applications are contemporary. A person unacquainted with the climate of opinion and conditions of today would not understand them. Prophets of old likewise were enmeshed in their times and cultures even as our leaders are today.

The scriptures were not written in the Salt Lake City or London or Frankfurt or Sydney of today. They were written centuries ago in other lands and cultures and, for the most part, in different languages. This adds to their interest and value. But if we would understand them, we must try to put ourselves in the position of the writers and the people to whom they wrote. Admittedly this is difficult, but any knowledge we gain of the history, language, and culture of scriptural peoples will enhance our understanding and appreciation of their records. (pp. 4-5.)

The Authors of Scripture

The various writers of scripture are not alike. Some were prophets of God who spoke with authority and conviction and gave us great truths. Others were unnamed and unknown. Still others were successors, sons of former writers, who wrote to continue the record. This is especially true of the Book of Mormon.

In the Old Testament we do not know who was the final writer or editor of the first five books or of Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, 1 and 2 Chronicles, Jonah, Job, and many others. Ecclesiastes, although ascribed to Solomon, was written much later and by another hand. The Psalms were written not only by David but also by songwriters over centuries of Israelite history. Some were written while the Jews were in exile in Babylon. Proverbs is a collection of writings based on much of Israelite history—a far richer work than Solomon could have produced by himself. No one knows who wrote Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, or the Song of Solomon.

What should we conclude from the nature of the authorship of the Bible? I would suggest two things. First, the writings of the great prophets of Israel and of Paul, James, and John and other known men of the New Testament are likely to be more authoritative expressions of doctrine and the will of God and Christ than are works of narration, of history, and of practical wisdom by unknown authors. I much prefer, for example, the book of Amos to that of the Song of Solomon. I read Job, Ecclesiastes, and Proverbs for their wisdom and beauty of language, but not as doctrinal treatises. (pp. 9-10.)

Sunday School Supplement

Understanding the Scriptures

The Sunday School Supplement is written by several interested scholars. Because diverse and wide-ranging material is addressed, the Supplement does not necessarily reflect the opinions of the editors or publisher. It is meant to encourage discussion and further study and is neither definitive nor authoritative. Questions or recommendations from readers are encouraged.

In this issue of Sunday School Supplement we depart from the traditional practice of quoting from several sources in order to provide our readers a survey of a newly published book which is particularly relevant for members of the Church's Gospel Doctrine Classes. The new book is Lowell L. Bennion's *Understanding The Scriptures* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1981, 88 pp., \$5.95). In this concise volume Mormonism's patriarch of human values shares with the reader numerous lessons to be learned and felt prior to a successful study of the scriptures and in particular the Old Testament. Perhaps the overall concern of Dr. Bennion is expressed best by the following lines which he quotes

from Shakespeare:

In religion,
What damned error, but some sober brow
Will bless it, and approve it with a text
Hiding the grossness with fair
ornament?
- Merchant of Venice, act 3, scene 2

We now follow with a selection of Dr. Bennion's insights—but suggest that the entire volume is well worth reading.

The Background & Makeup of Scripture

The scriptures were written neither in heaven nor in a vacuum. They were created by prophets and other authors who lived at specific times and places in human history. The writers of scripture were addressing real men and women about problems and issues of deep concern. . . .

When General Authorities speak to the Saints today, they also speak at a definite place and at a definite time to people they know. And they talk about things that concern them today. They speak in the light of age-old gospel principles and perspectives, but the

Prophets of God are not puppets; they are more than tape recorders. They speak for themselves as well as for God. Under divine influence they rise to unusual heights, but they are not infallible, nor do they cease to be human beings. Joseph Smith wrote that he was visited by "a brother and sister from Michigan who thought that 'a prophet is always a prophet;' but [he] told them that a prophet was a prophet only when he was acting as such" (*History of the Church* 5:265). (p. 11.)

Correctness of Translation

To gain full and accurate understanding of scripture, then, we would need to know the original languages—Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, Reformed Egyptian, and English. Since this is beyond the capacity and ambition of most of us, what should we do? What is the next best?

Next best is to review the work of scholars who have been or are acquainted with the original languages. This includes contemporary researchers, because our knowledge of ancient languages and cultures increases over time. Even learned men can be biased and in error. To guard against this, I suggest we compare the work of a number of reputable scholars. (p. 12.)

The Religious Intent

In the very beginning of the Genesis story, two great religious concepts are stressed: first, "God created the heaven and the earth," which leaves no doubt that the creation is the work of God; and second, after each act of creation, the scripture states that "God saw that it was good," noting finally that "it was very good." Here are two great ideas: God is the author of creation, and it is meaningful and good because it is his handiwork. Blessed is the person of faith who can believe these two things and live life consistent with the will of God that emerges in the rest of the Bible. It is my belief that the author of Genesis had no intention of presenting a scientific analysis of the *how* of creation. He lived in a prescientific age without a scientific vocabulary or interest. But he gloried in God and wanted him to be the foundation and fountain of life. The usage of the word *day* in scripture illustrates the fact that biblical language is not used with scientific intent. In science we give a definite and fixed meaning to a word. It is always used with the same meaning. Authors of scripture have at least four meanings for the word *day*: twenty-four hours (Genesis 1), "as a thousand years" (2 Peter 3:8), a definite

period of time (Abraham 4), and an indefinite period of time (Genesis 2:4-5; Alma 40:8; Moses 1:41). (pp. 16-17.)

Scriptures should be read and interpreted in the same spirit and with the same emphasis with which they were written. Anyone who does not recognize the essential religious character of scripture will miss the mark and misjudge these rich and unusual writings. Anyone who will look for religious teachings and inspiration in the scriptures will find them in great abundance. (p. 20.)

Inspired of God but in Man's Language

Revelation is of God and it is authoritative for the believer, but it is given in man's language and weakness, in his own thinking and understanding. Much of it is correction of sin and error or affirmation of correct thinking—but always in words man understands. Men do violence to scripture if they ascribe every word of it to God. (p. 23.)

Other passages of scripture reflect the author's viewpoint or are conditioned markedly by the circumstances and comprehension of his audience. This is true particularly of some of the narrative and historical portions of the Old Testament, which are not always on the same high plane that characterizes the writings of the prophets. For example, 2 Kings 2:23-24 tells the story of Elisha as he was mocked by little children who said to him, "Go up, thou bald head." It says that when he cursed them in the name of the Lord, two "she bears" came out of the woods and attacked forty-two children, supposedly killing them. This implies divine retribution for their lack of respect for a prophet. I, however, am unable to imagine Jehovah, Jesus Christ in the meridian of time, the same Jesus Christ who loved little children, turning bears upon them in their innocent folly. In my judgment the author meant to show respect of the prophet Elisha, but lacked understanding of the character of God in ascribing such action to him. (pp. 23-24.)

Reading in Context

Over the centuries men in various churches and sects have quoted single verses or passages of the Bible to prove their particular beliefs. Sometimes these texts are used correctly; at other times they do violence to the author's meaning. Using a passage of scripture isolated from its larger setting is called text-proof method. It is often unfair. (p. 26.)

Context means *with the text*. There are three kinds of context: (1) the immediate

setting of a passage, (2) its place in the book of which the passage is a part, such as Amos, Job, or Galatians, and (3) its relationship to the gospel as a whole, especially the fundamentals.

In the Context of the Passage

It is perfectly proper to quote a single verse or two of scripture, but in doing so one should have read what precedes it and what follows it. Otherwise he may misrepresent the author's idea. The following story illustrates this. (p. 27.)

In Ezekiel 37, a vision of this prophet is recorded wherein he saw a valley full of dry bones and then saw flesh and sinews come upon them, "Breath came into them, and they lived." (Ezekiel 37:10.) Verses 1-14 of this passage have been used to prove the resurrection. It is probably not Ezekiel's purpose in this passage to establish the doctrine of individual resurrection. It is quite obvious, if one reads the entire book of Ezekiel, that the prophet is talking about the restoration of Israel as a nation, as a people, with dry bones as a symbol of their captivity. The resurrection can be established much more clearly and abundantly in the New Testament or Book of Mormon. (Note Alma 40, Luke 24, and 1 Corinthians 15.)

Latter-day Saints should also read the rest of chapter 37 with Ezekiel's purpose in mind. Verses 15-28 tell the oft-repeated account of the prophet being commanded to write upon two sticks, one for Judah and one for Joseph, Judah being interpreted as the Bible and Joseph as the Book of Mormon. If we read the entire passage in the context of the total book of Ezekiel, we will find that the prophet is predicting not only the coming forth of two books or records, but also the restoration and reunion of the two nations—Israel and Judah. The Bible and Book of Mormon are records of Judah and Joseph, respectively, and the coming forth of these two records heralds the eventual reunion of the two nations and should some day even contribute to Israel's unification. The coming forth of the Book of Mormon fits into this larger hope and faith of the prophet Ezekiel. Latter-day Saints often ignore Ezekiel's great interest in unifying Israel and Judah. (pp. 29-30.)

Standards of Evaluation

An interpretation of scripture can be trusted when it (1) is consistent with gospel fundamentals and with the teachings and spirit of Christ, (2) is confirmed by the promptings of the Spirit, (3) appeals to our ethical judgment, and (4) has won agreement among persons of good will. (p. 39.)

Understanding the Old Testament

A most appreciated characteristic of the Old Testament's portrayal of characters is its honesty and candor. Some writers cover up the humanity of their religious leaders. Not so with Old Testament authors. They tell of Jacob's deception toward Esau, Isaac, and Laban, as well as his strength of character. Moses, revered as the greatest among the prophets and as the spiritual founder of his nation, takes honors unto himself that belonged to God. (See Numbers 20:10-13 and Deuteronomy 32:48-52.) And David, Israel's idyllic king who defeated the whole of Canaan in battle, is portrayed as a murderer and an adulterer—and in the end, as a pathetic old man. Saul, Israel's first king, ends his career in madness, while Solomon ends his in utter folly. In fact, most of the kings of Israel and Judah are described as having done "evil in the sight of the Lord."

The Old Testament tells the story of a great nation and people established by a covenant between God and Abraham, that heroic, generous man of faith. The covenant continued through Isaac and Jacob and was renewed again with Moses. What a giant was Moses—prophet, leader, and lawgiver! He has provided a legacy of strength and direction to Israel for over three millennia.

The Old Testament was the first scripture to put a *personal* God in the heart of history—guiding, blessing, chastising, and trying to fulfill his purposes through a chosen people. As a nation, ancient Israel failed Jehovah—but Israel left us, through her prophets and writers, a clear picture of what God demands of any people worthy of his name, and the hope that mankind may one day learn to walk more uprightly before him. (pp. 52-53.)

small sister in death. Others think highly of her. The exotic Lottie in "Jeptha's Daughter" realizes she will never be made May Queen:

The bare truth was simply that she was not admired the way Amy was and now that Amy was old enough to be queen, folks would show their approval of her by giving her that honor. Besides, the serious, industrious girl whose figure carried the vague suggestion of a dumpling was plenty good-looking enough.

Amy's first suitor Bryce Huntington sees her as "new bread and honeycomb; she was morning."

Amy has a sense of values. In choosing between an awkward shepherder and an eloquent, more dashing young man, she knows that tiny springs which make poplars grow in the desert are more important than protestations of love. As a shy, young pregnant wife, Amy puts aside her personal feelings of embarrassment and leads the music in sacrament meeting. Contrasted with her husband Israel, she exhibits warmth and tenderness to her children; she is a singer of nursery rhymes.

Our last glimpse of Amy is as a widow "waiting to die in a turmoil of ecstasy and disappointment"—ecstasy at the thought of rejoining Israel and escaping more pain, and disappointment that there is no more time to harvest vegetables or a few more great-grandchildren. She is trying to write her recollections, some revealing her sense of humor and some her determination to make things right.

Eileen Kump's style is both the book's strength and its weakness. She writes simply and with understanding which shows Mormons as human beings. She never preaches in dramatizing the events of ordinary experience. By writing so clearly, she does indeed accomplish her objective of "reflecting the lack of modern complexity in most of Amy's life." Still, something seems to be missing in this miscellaneous collection. Realizing that the short story form is entirely respectable, the reader, nevertheless, expects something more from this cycle. Although *The Giant Joshua* is a flawed book, in some respects it is a more satisfying one—it does not leave so much to the imagination. We want to know how Israel proposed to Amy, how their marriage grew and developed, how Israel's relationship with his first son progressed. Was he more understanding with the sons who followed? The novel format would have allowed answers for these questions.

Reviews

Bread and Milk and Other Stories

Eileen Gibbons Kump
Brigham Young University Press, 1979
91 pages, \$6.95

The controversy rages on: can there be such a thing as "good Mormon literature," literature which deals with the struggles of the heart as well as with the superficial skimming of historical facts? William Mulder wrote in 1954 that "what is needed, perhaps, is a smaller canvas, a surer perspective, stories that provide not so much the movement of history as the feeling of living experience, the experience of living things, of very particular situations."

This Eileen Kump has attempted to do in *Bread and Milk*. As a third-generation Mormon writer, she builds on her grandmother's supposedly commonplace existence to show that generation's "practicality and resilience" and their humanity. The title itself is a symbol of the everyday, ordinary commodities which are taken for granted, yet staples which give strength and provide life.

Instead of writing a full-fledged novel such as Maureen Whipple's *Giant Joshua*,

Kump has chosen eight short stories which, although based on each stage of Amy Gibbon's life, are structurally independent of each other. (They have, in fact, been written at different times; four more were added to the original *four* to make this collection.) Written for non-Mormon understanding, they deal more with the development of Amy's than with an explanation of Mormon culture. It is there to be recognized, however, by a Mormon audience. The closest she comes to criticizing that culture occurs in "Sayso or Sense." Here Amy clashes with the Priesthood, personified by her father-in-law who has the final "sayso" in the design of her house even though "sense" would dictate otherwise. For the most part, however, Amy leads a fulfilled, if hardly questioned, life as a member of the Church.

What type of heroine then is Amy Gordon? We see her first in "The Willows," an obedient older daughter who nonetheless disobeys, to face, with courage, a U.S. marshal searching for her polygamous father. In "China Doll" her generous, sensitive nature reveals itself when she allows her most expensive possession to accompany her

I do not mean to suggest that *Bread and Milk* is not a worthwhile book, because it is. Mrs. Kump has a talent of deftly capturing a moment in time and making it vivid. But cameo portrayals do not provide enough substance to answer questions about the nature of mortality with which a truly great novel struggles. The book does, however, admirably qualify as "good Mormon literature"; it will be interesting to read further works by this author.

Lissa Thompson

LISSA THOMPSON is an instructor of English for the Davis U. of U. Division of Continuing Education.

A Land Called Deseret

Janet Dailey
Harlequin Books, 1979

Janet Dailey's ambitious goal is to write a novel set in every state in the Union. *A Land Called Deseret* is Utah's own Harlequin.

A Harlequin it is. Handsome, older well-to-do rancher (Travis McCrea) encounters the young, indecisive, beautiful starlet (LaRaine Evans), and they move toward their goal of True Love despite such obstacles as their own personalities, the threat of another woman, a possible other suitor, and an incompetent relative. Other Harlequin features: torrid embraces and total lack of communication between the two for a hundred pages.

A Utah novel, however, it is not. A note on the back cover reveals that Janet's husband Bill does the research for these novels—few ornamental swatches of local color draped over the basic plot, not always accurately and not often felicitously.

The action takes place in Delta, but we see absolutely nothing of the town except for a motel and a fabric store. It is movie-making that brings LaRaine (now that *could* be a Utah name but she's from Alabama) to Delta, but Delta hardly seems hospitable country for movies. Was Janet thinking of Moab?

At another point, Travis and LaRaine pose dramatically on a ranch hilltop while he explains that *Deseret* comes "from the Book of Mormon or the Old Testament. It means 'land of the honeybees'" and points out Topaz Mountain (an igneous formation) which is "covered with topaz, amber [found only in sedimentary strata], and other gemstones." He takes her to see a herd of wild mustangs (near Delta?) and describes the geology of the Great Basin

in a suddenly-encyclopedia-sounding paragraph.

Mormonism is represented only in the most tangential ways. Travis's hired man Joe has to go home on Sundays and Monday evenings, "the night set aside by his Mormon faith to be with his family." (Joe is nineteen; why isn't he on a mission?) Travis purchased his horse from a Mormon rancher. But his living room is furnished with "Salvation Army rejects." No Deseret Industries in Delta?

LaRaine first describes Utah as a "raw, harsh, grimy, empty, choking wasteland," a "desolate, godforsaken hole of the world," and wonders, none too originally, why "somebody hasn't given Utah back to the Indians." When she is fired from the movie set and forced to cook and clean for Travis in order to earn plane fare to California, she (naturally) falls in love with Travis and Utah simultaneously and finds herself thinking, as she contemplates a sunset with him (preparatory to another redhot smoochie-touchie session), that Utah has "a subtle beauty all its own."

Now *I know* there's a market for these things. My evening class English students, who brought this book to my attention in the first place, refer to the other Dailey books by number. They also tell me that LaRaine appears in a subplot of the Alabama novel (providing her with the heartbroken "past" that Travis heals) and as the dangerous Other Woman in the Arizona one, while Travis carries his stunning profile through the Texas plot (which is presumably what turned his temples gray). Does so faithful a following deserve parsimony in the use of character as well as miserly and unintegrated research?

On the other hand, maybe the inexhaustible supply has simply met the insatiable demand.

Pamela Gillie Carson

PAMELA GILLIE CARSON is in the English department of Murray Community Education.

To Utah

Edward L. Hart
Brigham Young University Press, 1980
pages; \$5.95

To Utah, the title of Edward Hart's book, is a dedication. And so are the poems within, each in its own way a dedication to the multi moods, facets, and profundities of life. The volume is richly varied in tone and theme, from the soft music and dignity of "The Gathering": "(They) dragged/ handcars over stoney and

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frozen ground,/ Often opened and
shoveled in a mound/ Upon women and
children or the man who lagged/ In his
shafts only on the day he sagged/ In
death on the crosspiece: Zion
bound."—to the rollicking "Ethan Allen
Captures Fort Ticonderoga": "All the
wine from British cellars went to dampen
their thirst./ Not a drop of blood was
splattered, but their bellies near burst."
The book is laced with tribute to human
beings, to earth and her seasons, to the
complexities—humorous and sad—that
living presents us. And Hart, carefully,
subtly, has constructed his art to make us
feel the significance of those tributes. A
fine craftsman, he injects ease into the
tension of rhythmic, rhymed verse while
remaining tensed for the control of free
verse, moving within each form with
skill and grace. Sound echoing sense,
the poems stir both emotion and
intelligence. I most enjoy them when
reading aloud; listen to the simple
opening stanza of the book from "I.
Arrival": "Nobody wanted this
place:/ Spaniards saw it and turned
back:/ Trappers endured the taste/ Of
salt in the wind for the fur pack/ Or love
of space."

Readers of *To Utah* must be as flexible as
the poet, for where one poem may leap
with musical simplicity from the page,
others, such as "Oceangoing", require
serious study and a mind able to
penetrate the philosophic and emotive
currents. It is a book with unexpected
turns. The opening collections "To
Utah" and "Seventeen Seventy-five" on
the pioneers and patriot fathers do not
prepare us for the bite of "When all has
been given" or the calm pathos of
"Conclusions." Three things remain
consistent throughout: the tightness of
the language usage, the music of the
word-sounds as they are braided and
intertwined round one another on the
page, and the resonant humanity that
informs nearly every poem. It is an
unpretentious book made for
re-reading, one of the finest volumes to
be produced by a local poet.

Dian Saderup

Moods: of Late

Marden Clark

Brigham Young University Press, 1980
81 pages; \$5.95

"I have tried to respect fully my verbal
medium. But I have often been more
interested in the catching through
language of an experience or a
relationship than in the tight play of
words," says Marden Clark in the
preface to *Moods: of Late*. The meditative

volume reads true to his statement. It is
like a visit through the fragmented,
groping, ultimately crystallizing
thoughts of one man's mind as he strives
to make sense of our confusingly
beautiful and horrifying world.

Clark's poetry is highly introspective,
dealing oftentimes with death and
suffering—as he tries to come to terms
with his mother's prolonged agony from
arthritis or the irony of his childhood
Bishop's death beneath the grain of a
burst silo. Throughout, he struggles to
reconcile the most galling of religious
paradoxes: the existence of human
anguish and the reality of God's love.
The resolutions and peace that he arrives
at, and offers to his readers, are neither
saccharine nor bitter but carry the taste
and texture of one person's honestly
examined experience.

As I read *Moods of Late*, however, I
wondered if Clark might have made his
private thought more powerfully
accessible to others by devoting greater
attention to "the tight play of words." I
would have liked more economy in word
usage and that careful crafting of sounds
and rhythms that distinguishes (at least
in my mind) poetry from prose—the
force to be found in the coupling of
language and music. His few sonnets
work well, especially "Sonnet: To
Peace" and the delightful "Astronomy."
Clark and his daughter listen to a
scientist describe atomic creation and the
mind-blowing immensity of the
universe:

Ten million years, four gasses free, and
energy:
Amino acids, replicating, come alive!
The what, the how, he tried to tell; the
why?
He left to us. My daughter, still not five,
Restive in her hour, her foot of space,
Stretched up and planted kisses on my
face.

The theological significance of
parenthood is given immediacy with
subtlety and ease. In other, usually free
verse, poems he takes a more frontal
approach, spelling out clearly the
conclusions he has reached, as in
"Benign Tumor," which describes the
ordeal of a son's brain surgery: "(The
tumor was) Benign enough to lead us all
to fast and pray/ Benign enough to draw
great waves of energy/ sustaining
energy from prayers through
faith/ Benign enough to give us faith/ to
give us miracle/ to give us you/ Benign
enough to show us God." I generally
prefer that the sense and mood created
by a poem suggest rather than state
meaning, but other readers may find this
collection refreshing in its directness.

Whatever the preference, *Moods: of Late* is an interesting—at times poignant, at times funny, at all times deeply personal—journey through the thought and life of one man. And that's a rare thing to find.

Dian Saderup

DIAN SADERUP has published poetry, short stories and essays in *Sunstone*, *Dialogue*, *BYU Studies* and other publications. Currently she is a student at BYU.

Nicholas Groesbeck Morgan: The Man Who Moved City Hall

Jean R. Paulson

Provo: Press Publishing Limited, 1979
194 pages; \$6.95

It is a curious experience, reading a book which you might have written. It can

also be a humbling one, as you see the author's deft presentation and realize the depth of his research.

I knew Nicholas G. Morgan, whose house was next door to that of my sister-in-law on Olympus Drive in Salt Lake City. They were on borrow-a-cup-of-sugar terms, and on meeting Nick and Ethel, I was pleased to accept his invitation to accompany him to priesthood meeting. It's a bit uncomfortable walking into a strange ward alone and introducing yourself as a Utahn who has been visiting California since 1932 but is glad to be home again. On Sunday morning Nick Morgan drove his Cadillac from next door, I got in, and he took me to the local meeting house, which was just around the corner. This was the Morgan style, first cabin all the

way.

After his death, I inherited a number of his books. When his daughter, Marjorie Gray, suggested that I write his biography, I had to decline because of prior commitments; luckily for her, my friend from BYU days took over. Jean Paulson is a professional newspaperman, author, and currently a BYU faculty member and assistant executive editor of the *Daily Universe*. He did a superior job with the biography—and did it without my well-known caustic asides. In short, I like.

I admire professional work—pace, style, taste, imagery, emotion, dramatic progression, the intangibles of literary craftsmanship. You will find it here. Jean Paulson never tells *about* things; you are

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there; you are into the scene in the first paragraph of each chapter.

And he has done his homework. There is research behind every line. So many Utah biographies are simply "mug" books—glorifying the image, or mug, of the subject—that I once contrived a standard biography to fit all mugs simply by filling in a few blanks left for vital statistics. Nick Morgan, however, emerges as an individual and an individualist.

His life is a rags-to-riches saga, the Horatio Alger story come true. When his father, John Morgan, died, leaving three young widows, Nick was eleven years old, with five younger siblings in his mother's family. From a fifteen-room house they went to a two-room shack, sleeping on the floor, the mother's

income \$25 a month in tithing orders. Young Nick was the man of the family and early showed his business acumen. The Salt Lake Temple was under construction, a great tourist attraction. Nick bagged samples of granite chips and hawked them. He went into the produce business, paying the younger siblings 10 cents a day to help cultivate vacant lots and selling his vegetables on Market Row.

With this sort of initiative, Nick Morgan kept the family afloat, worked his way through University of Utah, and, deciding to be a lawyer, received his degree at Georgetown University. As a clerk in the War Department, salary \$900 a year, he sent for the girl he left behind and married the beautiful Ethel Tate in Chicago. They visited the stockyards on

their wedding trip, where Swift & Co. slaughtered 100 pigs and 60 beef a minute. From that time on, Nick never really enjoyed meat.

In a book crammed with anecdotes, we see Nick Morgan become wealthy, while using his means and influence to foster the arts and preserve Utah's pioneer heritage. He sponsored books such as Albert L. Zobell's *Sentinel in the East: a Biography of Thomas L. Kane*, and biographies of Eliza R. Snow, Florence Jepperson Madsen, and of his father, John Morgan. He endowed the Utah State Historical Society with oil, gas, and mineral leases and royalties, and, in the name of his father, donated most of its excellent library.

But most noteworthy of all was saving the historic City Hall. Morgan had been

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devastated by the ruthless destruction of pioneer architecture. In the name of progress, the wrecker's ball had demolished the old Salt Lake Theater (and for years a grotesque service station shaped like an airplane occupied the site). The Gardo House, residence of Church presidents and a classic example of pioneer elegance when built for Brigham Young's favorite wife and known as Amelia's Palace, was demolished the same year. The historic Social Hall, site of pioneer festivities, fell to the march of progress. And now the original City Hall, dedicated in 1866, was scheduled for demolition as a site for a new Federal building.

The City Hall had housed the governor's and mayor's offices and was headquarters for the police, recorder, treasurer, territorial library, city attorney, and the adjutant general of the Nauvoo Legion. The structure was of sandstone, with a severe and classic beauty of line that withstood the vagaries of building fashion. It was square, 60 by 60 feet, two stories high, with a white picket balcony around the top and a domed octagon tower rising from the center of the roof. Restored, it could be a priceless pioneer relic. Morgan, representing Sons of Utah Pioneers, vainly sought to save it.

Then came the inspiration to move it, stone by stone, and restore it at a site near the State Capitol. A great idea, but who would raise the money? And so as the wrecking balls and bulldozers prepared to demolish the early home of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of territorial government, Morgan sent a poem to President David O. McKay: "Skilled workmen's hands will soon be tearing down strong stately walls./ The famous dome of City Hall soon will be of the dust./ The most historic civic landmark of our western land/ Will soon be gone—for that our countenances with shame should blush. . . ."

Perhaps not great poetry, but its four stanzas had feeling. Morgan's phone rang. "I like your poem," McKay said. "Let's save Old City Hall—but don't have it cost more than a quarter million."

Perhaps the book's title should be *The Man Who Licked the City Hall*.

Samuel W. Taylor

SAMUEL W. TAYLOR is one of the most well known Mormon writers. He has authored 15 books including *Nightfall At Nauvoo*, *Family Kingdom*, *Heaven Knows Why*, *The Kingdom or Nothing* and *Rocky Mountain Empire: The Latter-day Saints Today*.

Give and Take

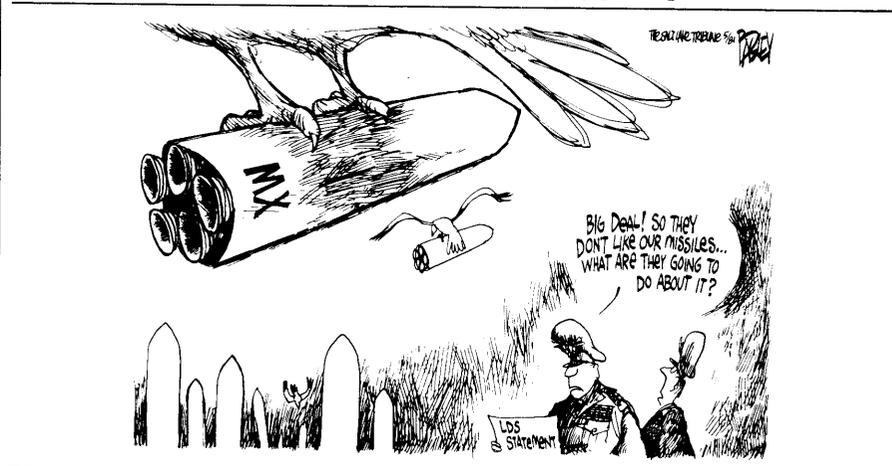
With the May 5 statement by the First Presidency opposing the deployment of the MX missile in the Great Basin, the Church was again center stage in the arena of national politics. It became clear that the Church intends to continue speaking out on contemporary problems that face society—as is its right and responsibility. But the battle lines drawn during skirmishes over the Equal Rights Amendment were suddenly blurred. Some of those who had applauded the Church's public opposition to ERA felt that this time the hierarchy was exerting unwarranted and unwanted influence on political questions. Conversely, some who criticized the Church position on ERA found themselves comfortably hailing the message as a statesmanlike critique of a fundamentally moral issue.

The national press had similar difficulties in pinning down the meaning of the Mormon pronouncement. Though the views expressed in the statement unquestionably pushed the Church toward the mainstream of American Christianity rather than its periphery, most coverage of the statement was not laudatory. Predictably, the military criticized the statement. But others, such as Carl Rowan and the editors of *The New York Times*, maintained that the Mormons had produced a self-serving document which criticized the missile only because it would be built in the Church's back yard.

Certainly, the final impact of the

statement on national politics and internal Mormon struggles is impossible to ascertain at this point in time. But I do feel that critics have been short-sighted and have missed important immediate ramifications which I find—both implicit and explicit—in the First Presidency message.

The May 5 statement is evidence, I am convinced, of the growing apprehension on the part of the leaders of the LDS Church with the worldwide threat of nuclear holocaust implicit in the spiraling arms race. The Church's most recent message of concern with the "terrifying arms race" and the construction of "vast arsenals of nuclear weaponry" with power to destroy civilization and produce "suffering and misery of incalculable extent" builds upon and enhances positions taken by the First Presidency at Christmas and Easter. Moreover, such views are consistent with earlier Church pronouncements. A different First Presidency—George Albert Smith, J. Reuben Clark, and David O. McKay—professed similar sentiments in a 1946 statement about Universal Compulsory Military Training. At that time, the First Presidency not only attacked the concept of a peacetime draft but also spoke out against the concomitant evils of exposing "impressionable" young people to the dangers of military life and military thinking by placing them in an



environment where they will "not only (learn) the way to kill, but also in too many cases, the desire to kill," and where they will be taught to "believe in the ways of war."

This earlier statement, much like the contemporary MX position, raised the larger issue of the dangers inherent in building a great war machine in the name of national defense and security:

By the creation of a great war machine, we shall invite and tempt the waging of war against foreign countries, upon little or no provocation; for the possession of great military power always breeds threat for domination, for empire, and for a rule by might and not right.

By building a huge armed establishment, we shall believe our protestations of peace, and peaceful intent and force other nations to a like course of militarism, by placing upon the people of the earth crushing burdens of taxation that with their present tax load will hardly be and that will gravely threaten our social, economic, and governmental systems.

We shall make of the whole earth one great military camp whose separate armies, headed by war-minded officers, will never rest till they are at one another's throats in what will be the most terrible contest the world has ever seen.

In summarizing their views, Presidents Smith, Clark, and McKay noted: "What this country needs, is a will for peace, not war. God will help our efforts to bring this about." Such an expression is in harmony with the words of the May 5 statement which proclaims: "With the most serious concern over the pressing moral question of possible nuclear conflict, we plead with our national leaders to marshal the genius of the nation to find viable alternatives which will secure at an earlier date and with fewer hazards the protection from possible enemy aggression which is our common concern."

It would be too smug to say that since the Prophet has spoken the MX debate is over. It is not. There are powerful forces in this state, and across the nation, that are urging deployment of MX. In terms of the First Presidency's statement on MX, one should be careful not to read more into it than is there; or to read less into it than is there. Personally, I would have preferred a total rejection of MX anywhere, at any time, under any circumstances. Still, the First Presidency's views should be applauded not only for their opposition—albeit limited—to MX, but because they have established a precedent which leaves open the possibility of future opposition to the arms race and nuclear holocaust.

John Sillito

Statement of The First Presidency on Basing of the MX Missile

We have received many inquiries concerning our feelings on the proposed basing of the MX missile system in Utah and Nevada. After assessing in great detail information recently available, and after the most careful and prayerful consideration we make the following statement, aware of the response our words are likely to evoke from both proponents and opponents of the system.

First, by way of general observation we repeat our warnings against the terrifying arms race in which the nations of the earth are presently engaged. We deplore in particular the building of vast arsenals of nuclear weaponry. We are advised that there is already enough such weaponry to destroy in large measure our civilization, with consequent suffering and misery of incalculable extent.

Secondly, with reference to the presently proposed MX basing in Utah and Nevada, we are told that if this goes forward as planned, it will involve the construction of thousands of miles of heavy duty roads, with the building of some 4600 shelters in which will be hidden some 200 missiles, each armed with ten warheads. Each one of these ten nuclear warheads will have far greater destructive potential than did the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

We understand that this concept is based on the provisions of a treaty which has never been ratified, and that absent such a treaty, the proposed installation could be expanded indefinitely. Its planners state that the system is strictly defensive in concept, and that the chances are extremely remote that it will ever be actually employed. However, history indicates that men have seldom created armaments that eventually were not put to use.

We are most gravely concerned over the proposed concentration in a relatively restricted area of the West. Our feelings would be the same about concentration in any part of the nation, just as we assume those in any other area so selected would have similar feelings. With such concentration, one segment of the population would bear a highly disproportionate share of the burden, in lives lost and property destroyed, in case of an attack, particularly if such were to be a saturation attack.

Such concentration, we are informed, may even invite attack under a first-strike strategy on the part of an aggressor. If such occurred the result would be near annihilation of most of what we have striven to build since our pioneer forebears first came to these western valleys.

Furthermore, we are told that in the event of a first-strike attack, deadly fallout would be carried by prevailing winds across much of the nation, maiming and destroying wherever its pervasive cloud touched.

Inevitably so large a construction project would have an adverse impact on water resources, as well as sociological and ecological factors in the area. Water has always been woefully short in this part of the West. We might expect that in meeting this additional demand for water there could be serious long term consequences.

We are not adverse to consistent and stable population growth, but the influx of tens of thousands of temporary workers and their families, together with those involved in support services, would create grave sociological problems, particularly when coupled with an influx incident to the anticipated emphasis on energy development.

Published studies indicate that the fragile ecology of the area would likewise be adversely affected.

We may predict that with so many billions of dollars at stake we will hear much talk designed to minimize the problems that might be expected and to maximize the economic benefits that might accrue. The reasons for such portrayals will be obvious.

Our fathers came to this western area to establish a base from which to carry the gospel of peace to the peoples of the earth. It is ironic, and a denial of the very essence of that gospel, that in this same general area there should be constructed a mammoth weapons system potentially capable of destroying much of civilization.

With the most serious concern over the pressing moral question of possible nuclear conflict, we plead with our national leaders to marshal the genius of the nation to find viable alternatives which will secure at an earlier date and with fewer hazards the protection from possible enemy aggression which is our common concern.